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ANOTHER BONAPARTIST MARRIAGE DISOWNED.—The Faubourg St. Germain was in high glee at the posthumous trial of the late King Jerome for bigamy, the prospect of bastardizing Clotilde's husband, and the discredit of Bonapartism in general, when lo! the greatest blow dealt yet at Legitimacy has been delivered on this occasion. It is Henri Cinq that turns out a bastard, and it is the Duchess de Berry whose marriage turns out a sham! A matter hitherto lurking in the darkest obscurity has incidentally been forced into the broad daylight, and it now appears that the Duc de Berry, on quitting the *armee de Conde* at Coblentz, had hardly settled down in England when he was smitten with the charms of a highly respectable girl, a Miss Brown, whom he proposed for and married according to the laws of England, and also at the French Roman Catholic chapel in London (three years after the date of Jerome's marriage, at Baltimore, with Bessy Patterson), and during his whole residence in England (ten years) lived with this lady as his lawful wife, to the knowledge of Louis Dixhuit and the whole family. His wife was not dead in 1816, though in that year the restored King of France caused him to contract bigamy and espouse the late Bomba's sister Caroline, the issue of which unlawful connection is the present "legitimate" Pretender to the French Throne. When the Duc de Berry was stabbed at the Opera house here I have a perfect recollection of two ladies being admitted to soothe his dying moments, and the talk at the time was all about the Duchess being so tolerant in the case; but it was his real wife and her daughter, it seems, whom he insisted on seeing before he died. They were amply provided for, and are possibly still living.—*London Globe.*

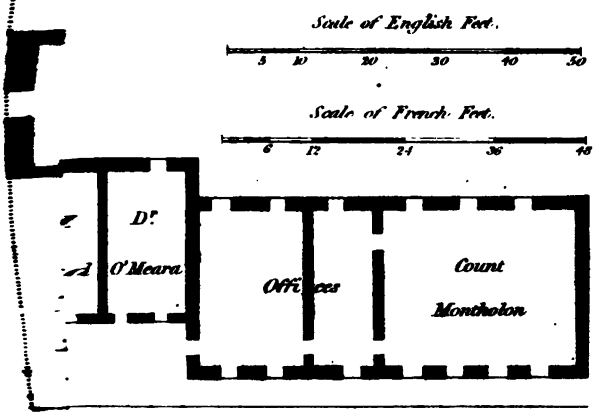
NAPOLEON'S TOMB AT ST. HELENA.—The Union Company's Royal Mail steamship Cambrian, Captain Strutt, which arrived at Southampton on Saturday, brought from St. Helena Captain Masselin and two soldiers of the 3d regiment of French Engineers. They have been employed in repairing the tomb of Napoleon at St. Helena by direction of the French authorities, and with the permission of the English government. The tomb has been completely restored to the condition in which it was at the period of the deposed Emperor's interment; and Longwood, the house in which he died, has been put into a state of substantial repair. Longwood is unoccupied and unfurnished, and the premises had been allowed, prior to Captain Masselin's visit to the island, to fall into decay; but the walls and roof have now been restored, and will, in all probability, stand for many years. Captain Masselin and his engineers were despatched to St. Helena, via Southampton, two years ago, and they have been occupied with the work of restoration ever since. They left Southampton at midnight on Monday for Havre, in the South-western Company's steamer Havre, *en route* for Paris.—*London Times.*

The Paris correspondent of *The Star* (London) writes: "The world for the last three-quarters of a century has considered the Bonaparte family as more distinguished for their aptitude in appropriating [illegible] and conquering kingdoms than in carrying off [illegible] triumphs. M. Blanet, however, reveals to the [illegible] a long list of works contributed by the Imperial family to the libraries of France, which throws a halo of literary attainments on the name of the Bonapartes, for which we are not altogether prepared. The First Emperor wrote 'L'Histoire de Corse' in two volumes—a 'Discours sur les vérités et les sentiments qu'il importe le plus d'inculquer aux hommes pour leur bonheur!' and even some pieces of poetry. Among others some fables: 'Le chien, le lapin, et le chasseur.' The Emperor's eldest brother Joseph, King of Naples, subsequently King of Spain, published a sentimental romance entitled 'Moïna, ou la Religieuse du Mont Cenis.' The faithful Republican Lucien published two epic poems: 'Charlemagne,' in twenty-four cantos, and the 'Cyrneide,' in twelve, as well as 'Stelmina, or the Indian tribe,' reprinted twelve years after its first appearance under the title of 'Jénédares.' The King of Holland, Louis, father of the present Emperor, was author of a romance, 'Marie, ou les peines de l'amour;' of an essay on versification, in which figures an opera in two acts, 'Ruth and Naomi;' 'Lucretia,' a tragedy in five acts; 'L'Avare,' of Molière, put into verse; as well as a work of some value entitled 'Documents historiques et reflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande, 1820.' So much for the literary productions of the [illegible] Emperor and his brothers. These traditions have [illegible] carried on by their children. The Princess [illegible]de, daughter of Joseph, King of Spain, and wife [illegible] the [illegible]ce of Canino, translated Schiller. The eldest son of Lucien, [illegible] known in the scientific world by a work on the birds of North America. His second brother, Louis Lucien, now Senator of France, has composed a grammar of the Basque language, beside several works on chemistry, and the parable of the sower of St. Matthew in sixty-two different European dialects. His third brother, Pierre Napoleon, translated into French verse Nicolini's 'Nebuchadnezar,' and has written a romance in Italian, 'Rosa de Castro.' Needless to remind the reader of the many works which have issued from the pen of their neice, the granddaughter of Prince Lucien, Madame Ratazzi, daughter of Mr. Wyse of Waterford, and of Princess Letitia Bonaparte. Previous to her marriage with Victor Emmanuel's Prime Minister, she was the wife of the Prince de Solms. Her *salon* was one of the most brilliant of the literary and artistic *salons* of Paris, where every Wednesday one was certain of meeting a goodly number of the celebrities of the day. As Princess de Solms, she constantly joined in private theatricals given at her house, assisted by Ugalde, Sanson, Ponsard, &c.

"Both the sons of Louis King of Holland have claims to literary fame—the eldest, who was shot at Forlì during the insurrection of 1831, published a translation of the 'Life of Agricola' from Tacitus, as well as a history of Florence. The second son, Napoleon III., has given the world, besides his 'Life of Cæsar,' a remarkable series of military, historic, and political works. Thus the Bonapartes, while annexing kingdoms, have made use of their pens, with no mean result."

GWOOD.

NB. This is an exact transcript of the Plan alluded to in the journals of the day as it was drawn out by young Las Cases, first for his mother, and subsequently inclosed to Maria Louisa, in a letter which was intercepted; it is also the same mentioned in the letter of the Count to Prince Lucien, relating the events at St. Helena; On account of these circumstances it is presented here without alteration.



A's place, 2, my Fathers, 3, self, 4, Montholon, 5, Gourgaud, a Countess Bertrand, living in another House at some dis- came to dine on Sundays; After dinner, which never lasted utes, the Emperor dismissed all the attendants, exercising to "go out, go to supper," He would then turn to us and visit the Theatre, upon which I was sent to the Library for read aloud, One of our great Authors was always chosen; Molière; when the reading was over, he withdrew to his clock, or Midnight, he considered himself fortunate, and ne.

1 2 mine, The room was so small, that there was scarcely

B

c, 2, table on which I wrote to you, my Mother, 3, table for frequently came to transcribe for my Father, 4, Sofa on part of the day; These rooms are so low that you may hands, they are covered with tarred paper. If the Sun was located, when it raind we were almost drowned, How often a late hour talking of you my dear Mother.

Emperor generally played a game of Chess

Engraved by Sam.l Hall, Bury St. Edmunds.

MEMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

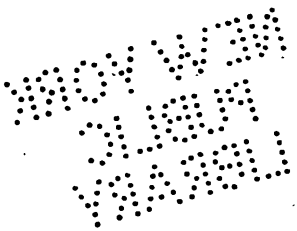
BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

VOL. I.

PART THE FIRST.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN AND CO.
1823.



LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET-STREET.

PREFACE.

CIRCUMSTANCES the most extraordinary have long kept me near the most extraordinary man of modern times. Admiration made me follow him without knowing him, and love attached me to him as soon as I did know him. The world is full of his glory, his deeds, and his monuments; but no one knows the true shades of his character, his private qualities, or the natural disposition of his soul. This great void I undertake to fill up, and for such a task I possess advantages unexampled in history.

I collected and recorded, day by day, all that I saw of Napoleon, all that I heard him say during the period of eighteen months in which I was constantly about his person. In these conversations, which were full of confidence, and which seemed to pass, as it were, in another world, he could not fail to be portrayed by himself as if in a mirror, in every point of view,

and under every aspect. Henceforth the world may freely study him: there can be no error in the materials.

The particulars here collected are, with regard to arrangement, in a state of great confusion; they remain nearly in the order in which I noted them down at St. Helena. On recovering my manuscript, a short time ago, when it was restored to me by the English Government, I at first intended to have arranged it in a new form and in a certain degree of connexion. But I was compelled to renounce this design: on the one hand, the state of my health prohibited application; on the other, I felt myself controlled by time. I considered the speedy publication of my work as a sacred duty to the memory of him whose loss I deplore. I also hope it may afford pleasure to those who loved him, and force respect from those who were his enemies. Finally, I have a third and no less important object in this publication, namely, that it will afford an opportunity of defence to those who may find any thing stated in it of which they may imagine they have cause to complain; the public will judge, and history will speak, with greater certainty.

COUNT LAS CASES.

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*** The Plan of Longwood to face the Title of Volume I. Part I.

MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

INTRODUCTION.

It is my intention to record daily all that the Emperor Napoleon did or said while I was about his person; but, before I commence my diary, I hope to be excused for offering a few preliminary remarks, which may not be altogether useless.

I never commenced the perusal of any historical work without first wishing to know the character of the author, his situation in society, and his political and domestic relations; in fact, all the important circumstances of his life: conceiving that nothing but a knowledge of these matters could furnish a key to his writings, or a safe ground of confidence in his statements. I therefore proceed to supply in my turn, that which I always sought for in others; and in pre-

senting this diary, relate a few facts respecting my past life.

I was scarcely twenty-one years of age when the Revolution broke out, and had just been made a *Lieutenant de Vaisseau*, which corresponded with the rank of a field officer in the line: my family was at court, and I had been recently presented there myself. I was not rich; but my name and rank in life, together with my professional prospects, were likely, according to the calculating spirit of the times, to enable me to marry according to my wishes. It was at such a moment that our political troubles burst forth.

One of the principal vices in our system of admission to the service, was that of depriving us of the benefits of a solid and finished education. Withdrawn from school at the early age of fourteen, abandoned from that instant to ourselves, and launched as it were on a wide waste, how was it possible to attain the slightest notion of social organization, public rights, or the duties of civil life?

Thus, prompted by noble prejudice, rather than by a just sense of duty, above all led on by a natural fondness for generous resolves, I was amongst the first to hasten abroad and join our Princes; to save, as it was said, the Monarch from revolutionary fury, and to defend our hereditary rights, which we could not, it was as-

serted, yet abandon without shame. From the mode in which we had been educated, it required either a very strong head or a very weak mind to resist the torrent.

The emigration soon became general: this fatal measure is but too well known to Europe; nor can its folly, as a political blunder and a social crime, find any excuse in the present day, except in the unenlightened but upright character of most of those by whom it was undertaken.

Defeated on our own frontiers, discharged and disbanded by foreigners, rejected and proscribed by the laws of our country, numbers of us reached England, whose Ministers lost no time in landing us on the shore of Quiberon. Being so fortunate as not to disembark, I had after my return time to reflect on the horrible alternative of fighting against our country under foreign banners; and, from this moment, my ideas, principles, and projects were either disconcerted or entirely changed.

Despairing of events, abandoning the world and my natural sphere, I devoted myself to study; and, under a borrowed name, went through a second course of education in attempting to assist that of others.

After a lapse of some years, the treaty of Amiens, and the amnesty offered by the First Consul, re-opened to us the gates of France. I had no

longer any property there: the laws had disposed of my patrimony; but can any thing make us forget our native soil, or destroy the charm of breathing the air of our own country!

I hurried back, and was grateful for a pardon, rendered more acceptable, since I could say with pride I received it without having any motives of self-reproach. When monarchy was proclaimed soon after, my situation and sentiments were of the most singular description. I found myself a soldier, punished for a cause that had triumphed. Every day brought us back to our former ideas: all that had been dear to our principles and prejudices was renewed; and yet delicacy and honour rendered it a kind of duty in us to keep at a distance.

It was in vain that the new government loudly proclaimed the union of all parties; and equally so, that its chief had declared he would no longer recognize any but Frenchmen in France; in vain had old friends and former companions offered me the advantages of a new career to be chosen by myself. Unable to subdue the conflicting feelings which agitated my mind, I obstinately persevered in a system of self-denial; and devoting all my time to literature, I composed, under a feigned name, an historical work that re-established my fortune; after which, I passed five or six of the happiest years of my life.

Meanwhile, unprecedented events succeeded

each other with extraordinary rapidity: they were of such a nature, and bore so peculiar a character, that it became impossible for any person whose heart possessed the least predilection for whatever was great or noble, to view them with indifference. The glory of our country was raised to a pitch unknown in the history of any other people; the administration of affairs was unexampled, not less by its energy than the consequences it produced; a simultaneous impulse, which was suddenly given to every species of industry, excited the emulation of all at the same moment; the army was unrivalled, striking terror abroad and creating a just pride at home.

Every day added to the number of our trophies, while numerous monuments proclaimed our exploits; the victories of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland; the treaties of Presburgh and Tilsit had constituted France the first of nations, and made her the arbitress of Europe. It was a signal honour to be a Frenchman; and yet all these exploits, labours, and prodigies, were the work of one man. For my own part, whatever might have been my former prepossessions and prejudices, I was now filled with admiration; and, as we all know, there is but one step from admiration to affection.

It was precisely at this period, that the Emperor called some of the first families of France

round his throne, causing it to be circulated amongst the rest, that he would consider those who remained aloof as bad Frenchmen. I did not hesitate for an instant: I have, said I to myself, fulfilled the obligations of my natural oath, that of my birth and education, to which I have continued faithful until its extinction. Our princes, too, were no longer thought of: we even doubted their existence. The solemnities of religion, the alliance of kings, all Europe, and the splendour of France, henceforth taught me that I had a new sovereign. Had those who preceded us, made so long a resistance to such powerful efforts, before rallying round the first of the Capets? I answered therefore for myself, that, happy in being thus enabled to obey a call which removed me with honour from the delicate situation in which I was placed, I freely and spontaneously transferred the zeal, loyalty, and attachment which I had constantly cherished for my old masters, to the new sovereign: the result of this step was my immediate admission at court.

In this state of things, I felt extremely anxious that my recent protestations should be ratified by deeds. The English had invaded Flushing and threatened Antwerp; I therefore hastened to assist in the defence of the latter place, as a volunteer; and, on the subsequent evacuation of Flushing, my nomination to the office

of chamberlain called me near the person of the Emperor. Being desirous of adding some more useful occupation to the duties of this honourable post, I solicited and obtained a seat in the Council of State. Hence followed several confidential missions: I was sent to Holland at the period of its union to the French Empire, in order to receive whatever related to the naval department; then to Illyria for the purpose of liquidating the public debt; and afterwards over half the Empire, to superintend establishments of public beneficence. During our late misfortunes, I received some consoling proofs, that the inhabitants of the countries to which I had thus been sent, were not dissatisfied with my conduct.

Providence had however placed a limit to our prosperity. The catastrophe of Moscow, the disasters of Leipsic, and the siege of Paris, are well known. I commanded in that city one of the legions which acquired honours by its severe losses on the 31st of March. When the capitulation took place I gave up the command, feeling that other duties were to be performed near the person of my sovereign, but could not reach Fontainebleau in time:—the Emperor had abdicated and was succeeded by the King.

My situation now became more singular than it had been twelve years before. The cause for which I had sacrificed my fortune, for which I

remained so long in exile, and six years in a state of self-denial at home, was at length triumphant; but, nevertheless, the point of honour and other considerations were about to prevent my reaping any benefit from the event! What could be more capricious than my fate? Two revolutions had been effected in opposition to each other:—by the first I lost my patrimony; by the second I might have been deprived of life: neither one nor the other had been favourable to my fortune. Vulgar minds will only perceive an unfortunate tergiversation of opinions in this wayward destiny, while the lovers of intrigue will assert that I was twice a dupe: only the few will comprehend my motives, and do justice to my actions. Be this as it may, those early friends, whose esteem was not lessened by the line of conduct I had pursued, having now become all powerful, invited me to join them: it was impossible to obey the generous call; disgusted and disheartened, I resolved that my public life should terminate. Ought I to have exposed myself to the false judgment of those who were watching my proceedings? Could every body see what was passing in my mind?

Having now become a Frenchman even to enthusiasm, and unable to endure that national degradation of which I was a daily witness amidst foreign bayonets, I determined to endeavour to divert my thoughts at a distance from the scene

of calamity. Having, therefore, gone to pass a few months in England, how altered did every thing appear there! On reflection, I found that it was myself who had undergone a great change.

I had scarcely returned, when Napoleon appeared on our coasts: he was transported to the capital as it were by magic, and this without battles, excesses, or effusion of blood. I thought I saw the stain brought on us by foreign hands effaced, and all our glory restored. Destiny had ordered otherwise!

No sooner did I hear of the Emperor's arrival, than I spontaneously repaired to attend on his person. I was present at the moment of abdication; and, when the question of his removal was agitated, I requested permission to participate in his fate. Such had been till then the disinterestedness and simplicity, some will say folly, of my conduct, that, notwithstanding my daily intercourse as an officer of the household and member of his council, Napoleon scarcely knew me. "Do you know whither your offer may lead "you?" said he, in his astonishment. "I have "made no calculation about it," I replied. He accepted me, and I am at St. Helena.

I have now made myself known; the reader has my credentials in his hands: a host of contemporaries are living—it will be seen whether a single individual amongst them stands up to invalidate them: I therefore begin my task.

Return of the Emperor to the Elysée, after the Battle of Waterloo.

Tuesday, June 20th, 1815.—Heard of the Emperor's return to the Elysée Palace: placed myself in immediate attendance there. Found MM. Montalembert and Montholon there, brought by the same sentiment.

Napoleon had just lost a great battle; so that the safety of the nation thenceforth depended on the wisdom and zeal of the Chamber of Representatives. The Emperor, still covered with dust from the field of Waterloo, was on the point of hurrying into the midst of them, there to expose our dangers and resources, and to declare that his personal interests should never be a barrier to the happiness of France, thence to quit Paris immediately. It is said that several persons dissuaded him from this step, by leading him to apprehend an approaching ferment amongst the deputies.

It is as yet impossible to comprehend every report that circulates with regard to this fatal battle: some say there is manifest treason; others, a fatality without example. Thirty thousand men under Grouchy lost their way and were too late, taking no part in the engagement; the army, victorious till the evening, was it is said suddenly seized with a panic towards eight o'clock, and became broken in an instant:

It is another Crecy, another Azincourt, ———!* every one trembles and thinks all is lost!

The Abdication.

21st.—The best intentioned and most influential members of the national representation, have been tampered with all last evening and all night by certain persons, who, if their word is to be taken produce authentic documents and demi-

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* I had put in the text *une veritable journée des Eperons*,† (a real day of spurs), and must not omit to state what led to its being expunged.

The Emperor, who alone knew I kept a journal at St. Helena, one day expressed a wish that I should read a few pages to him: on coming to this expression, inadvertently thrown in, he suddenly exclaimed, "What have you done! Erase, erase, sir, quickly! *Une journée des Eperons!* what a calumny! a day of spurs!" said he again, "ah! unfortunate army! brave men! "you never fought better!" Then after a pause of a few moments, he added in a tone expressive of deep feeling:—"We "had some great poltroons amongst us! May heaven forgive "them! But as to France, will *she* ever surmount the effects of "that ill-fated day!"

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† In allusion to the battle of Guinegate, fought near Boulogne in 1513, between the army of Henry VIII. and that of France. The French were completely routed on this occasion, and the celebrated Bayard taken prisoner while covering the retreat; this was so precipitate that the day was ever after styled *La journée des Eperons* (or day of spurs,) because, as stated by contemporary historians, the French army made more use of their spurs than lances. *Editor.*

official papers guaranteeing the safety of France, by the mere abdication of the Emperor as they pretend.

The above opinion had become so strong this morning, that it seemed irresistible: the president of the assembly, the first men in the state, and the Emperor's particular friends, come to supplicate that he will save France by abdicating. Though by no means convinced, yet the Emperor answers with magnanimity:—he abdicates!

This circumstance causes the greatest bustle round the Elysée; the multitude rushes towards the gate, and testifies the deepest interest; numbers penetrate within the hall, while some even of the popular class scale the walls; some in tears, others in a state approaching to distraction, crowd up to the Emperor, who is walking tranquilly in the garden, and make offers of every description. Napoleon alone is calm, constantly replying that they should in future apply this zeal and tenderness to the good of their country.

I presented the deputation of Representatives, in the course of the day: it came to thank the Emperor for his devotedness to the national interests.

The documents and state-papers, which have produced such a powerful sensation, and brought about the grand event of this day, are said to be official communications of MM. Fouché and Metternich, in which the latter guarantees Na-

poleon II. and the regency, in case of the abdication of the Emperor. These communications must have been long carried on unknown to Napoleon. M. Fouché must have a furious partiality for clandestine operations. It is well known that his first disgrace, which took place several years ago, arose from his having opened some negotiations with England of his own accord, without the Emperor's knowledge: he has in fact always shown the greatest obliquity in affairs of moment. Grant that his present mysterious acts do not prove fatal to our country!

Deputation of the Chamber of Peers.—Caulaincourt.—Fouché.

22d.—Went home to pass a few hours at my own house; in the course of this day the deputation of the Peers was presented: a portion of the Provisional Government was named in the evening. Caulaincourt and Fouché, who were of the number, happened to be with us in the ante-chamber: we complimented the first on his nomination, which was, indeed, only to congratulate ourselves on the public good: his reply was full of alarm. "We applaud the choice hitherto made," said we. "It is certain," observed Fouché with an air of levity, "that I am not suspected."—"If you had been," rudely rejoined the deputy Boulay de la Meurthe, who was also present, "be assured we should not have named you."

The Provisional Government presented to the Emperor.

23d and 24th.—The acclamations and interest without, continued at the Elysée. I presented the members of the Provisional Government to the Emperor, who, in dismissing them, directed the Duke Decrès to see them out. The Emperor's brothers, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome, were introduced frequently through the day, and conversed with him for some time.

As usual, there was a great multitude of people collected round the palace in the evening: their numbers were constantly increasing. Their acclamations and the interest shown for the Emperor created considerable uneasiness amongst the different factions. The fermentation of the capital now became so great, that Napoleon determined to depart on the following day.

The Emperor quits the Elysée.

25th.—I accompanied the Emperor to Malmaison, and again requested permission to follow his future fortunes. My proposal seemed to create astonishment, for I was still only known to him by my employments; but he accepted the offer.

26th.—My wife came to see me; she had divined my intentions: it became a somewhat

delicate task to avow them, and still more difficult to convince her of their propriety. "My "dear friend," said I, "in following the dutiful "dictates of my heart, it is consoling to reflect "that your interests are not thereby prejudiced. "If Napoleon II. is to govern us, I leave you "strong claims to his protection; should heaven "order it differently, I shall have secured you a "glorious asylum, a name honoured with some "esteem. At all events we shall meet again, at "least in a better world." After tears and even reproaches, which could not but be gratifying, she consented to my departure, exacting a promise however, that I would allow her to join me without loss of time. From this moment, she manifested a courage and strength of mind, that would have animated myself in case of necessity.

The Minister of Marine comes to Malmaison.

27th.—I went to Paris for a short time, with the Minister of Marine, who came to Malmaison, on business respecting the frigates destined for the Emperor. He read me the instructions drawn out for the commanders, said his Majesty depended on my zeal, and intended taking me with him; adding, that he would take care of my family during my absence.

Napoleon II. is proclaimed by the Legislature.

Sent for my son to his school, having determined that he should accompany me. We pre-

pared a small parcel of clothes and linen, then proceeded to Malmaison accompanied by my wife, who returned immediately. The road had now become rather unsafe owing to the approach of the enemy.

28th.—Being desirous of making some other arrangements before our departure, the Duchess de Rovigo took me and my son to Paris in her carriage. I found MM. de Vertillac and de Quitry at my house; these were the last friends I embraced: they were terrified. The agitation and uncertainty hourly increased in the capital, for the enemy was at the gates. On reaching Malmaison, we saw the bridge of Chatou in flames: guards were posted round the palace, and it became prudent to remain within the park walls. I went into the Emperor's room, and described how Paris had appeared to me; stating the general opinion that Fouché openly betrayed the national cause; and that the hopes of all patriots were, that his Majesty would this very night join the army, who loudly called for him. The Emperor listened to me with an air of deep thought, but made no reply, and I withdrew soon after.

Napoleon quits Malmaison, and departs for Rochefort.

29th and 30th.—A cry of long live the Emperor! was continually heard on the great road to St. Germain: it proceeded from the troops who passed under the walls of Malmaison.

Towards noon General Becker came from Paris, sent by the Provisional Government; he told us with feelings of indignation, that he had received a commission to guard and watch Napoleon. *

A sentiment the most base had dictated this choice: Fouché knew that General Becker had a private pique against the Emperor, and there-

* On my return to Europe chance threw the following documents in my way, relative to the above circumstance. I transcribe them here, because I believe they are unknown to the public. They have been copied from the originals, and require no commentary.

Copy of a letter from the Commission of Government to Marshal Prince d'Eckmuhl, Minister at War.

Paris, June 27th 1815.

Sir,—Such is the state of affairs, that it is indispensable for Napoleon to decide on departing and proceeding to the Isle of Aix. If he does not determine to do so on your notifying to him the annexed resolutions, you are to cause him to be watched at Malmaison, to prevent his escape. For this purpose, you will place a requisite portion of gendarmerie and troops of the line, at the disposal of General Becker, so as to guard all the avenues leading to Malmaison in every direction. You will give orders to the chief inspector of gendarmerie to this effect. These measures must be kept as secret as possible.

This letter is intended for yourself; but General Becker, who will be charged with delivering the resolutions to Napoleon, will receive particular instructions from your excellency, and inform Napoleon that they have been drawn up with a view to the interest of the state, and for the safety of his person; that their prompt execution is indispensable; and finally, that his future interests make them absolutely necessary.

(Signed) The Duke of Otranto.

fore did not doubt of finding in the former, one disposed to vengeance; it would be impossible for any man more grossly to deceive himself, as

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Copy of the resolutions entered into by the Commission of Government, extracted from the Minutes of the Secretary of State's department.

Paris, June 26th, 1815.

The Commission of Government resolves as follows:

Art. I. The Minister of Marine shall give orders for two frigates to be prepared at Rochefort, to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

Art. II. Should he require it, a sufficient escort shall attend him to the place of embarkation under the orders of Lieutenant-general Becker, who will be instructed to provide for his safety.

Art. III. The Director-general of Posts will, on his part, give the necessary orders relative to the relays.

Art. IV. The Minister of Marine will issue the requisite orders for insuring the immediate return of the frigates, after the disembarkation.

Art. V. The frigates are not to quit Rochefort before the arrival of the safe-conducts.

Art. VI. The Ministers of Marine, War, and Finances, are each charged with the execution of that part of the present resolutions which concerns them respectively.

(Signed) The Duke of Otranto.

By order of the Commission of Government, the Assistant Secretary of State. (Signed) Count Berlier.

Copy of the Duke of Otranto's letter to the Minister at War.

Paris, June 27th, 1815, at noon.

Sir,—I transmit to you a copy of the letter I have just written to the Minister of Marine, relative to Napoleon. A perusal of it will convince you of the necessity of giving orders to General Becker not to separate himself from the person of Napoleon, whilst the latter remains in the roads of Aix.

(Signed) The Duke of Otranto.

this officer constantly showed a degree of respect and attachment to the Emperor highly honourable to his own character.

Copy of the letter to the Minister of Marine alluded to in the foregoing.

Paris, June 27th, 1815, noon.

Sir,—The Commission reminds you of the instructions it transmitted to you an hour ago. The resolutions must be executed as prescribed by the Commission yesterday; and according to which, Napoleon Bonaparte will remain in the roads of Aix until the arrival of his passports.

The welfare of the State, which cannot be indifferent to him, requires that he should remain there until his fate and that of his family has been definitively regulated. Every means will be employed to render the result of the negotiation satisfactory to him. The honour of France is interested in it; but, in the meantime, all possible precautions must be taken for the personal security of Napoleon, and that he does not quit the place which is temporarily assigned him.

The President of the Commission of Government.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Letter from the Minister at War to General Becker.

Paris, June 27th, 1815.

Sir,—I have the honour of transmitting to you the annexed resolutions which the Commission of Government charges you to notify to the Emperor Napoleon; observing to his Majesty, that circumstances are so imperious as to make it indispensable he should decide on setting out for the Isle of Aix. These resolutions, observes the Commission, have been made as much for the safety of his person, as for the interest of the State, which must ever be dear to him.

If his Majesty does not make up his mind, on these resolutions being notified to him, it is the intention of the Commission of Government, that the necessary steps shall be taken to prevent the escape of his Majesty, and every attempt against his person.

Meanwhile time pressed. When on the point of setting out, the Emperor sent a message to the Provisional Government, by General Becker, offering to place himself at the head of the army, merely in the rank of a citizen, adding, that after having repulsed Blucher, he would continue his route. On the refusal of this offer, we left Malmaison; the Emperor and a part of his suite taking the road to Rochefort by Tours; I and my son, with Messieurs Montholon, Planat, and Résigny, proceeded towards Orleans, as also two or three other carriages. We reached this place early on the 30th, and got to Chatellerault at midnight.

July 1st and 2d. We passed through Limoges on the 1st, at four in the afternoon; dined at Rochefoucault on the 2nd, and reached Jarnac about seven. We slept here, owing to the obstinacy of the postmaster, which forced us to remain till next day.

I have to repeat, General, that these resolutions have been adopted for the interest of the state, and for the personal safety of the Emperor; also, that the Commission of Government considers their prompt execution as indispensable for the future welfare of his Majesty and his family.

I have the honour to be, &c.

N. B. The above letter remained without any signature; at the moment of sending it off, the Prince of Eckmuhl observed to his secretary, "I will never sign this letter—sign it yourself, that will be sufficient." The secretary expressed himself equally incapable of putting his name to such a communication. Was it sent or not?—this is a point which I cannot decide.

3d. We could not set out before five o'clock. On account of the misconduct of the postmaster, who not content with detaining us all night had recourse to secret means for keeping us still longer, we were obliged to proceed almost at full speed to Cognac, where the postmaster and inhabitants received us very differently. It was easy to perceive that our journey occasioned a great deal of agitation amongst all parties. On reaching Saintes, towards eleven o'clock, we nearly fell victims to the fury of some miscreants, collected by an officer of the royal guard, a native of that place, whom Napoleon's return had displaced. This person had prepared an ambuscade for us, and had even laid a plan for our assassination. We were arrested by them, but a part of the national guard interfered, and conducted us as prisoners to an adjoining Inn. It was said that we were carrying off the treasures of the State, and therefore merited death. Some of them, who pretended to be the most distinguished inhabitants, and above all, the women, were the most outrageous, and called for our immediate execution.

We saw these females defile in succession before some windows that were open near our temporary prison, in order that their insults should not be lost on us. It will scarcely be credited that they went so far as to grind their teeth in sign of hatred, and from vexation at seeing the indifference we displayed; yet they formed the fashionable circle of Saintes! Could

Real be in the right, when he told the Emperor, during the hundred days, that as for jacobins, he had a right to know something of them: protesting that the only difference between the blacks and whites was, that the former wore wooden shoes and the latter silk stockings?

Prince Joseph, who was passing through Saintes unknown to us, came to increase the interest of our adventure. He was also arrested, and conducted to the Prefecture; but highly respected.

The windows of the Inn faced a large square, which continued to be filled with an agitated and hostile rabble, who were extremely violent and abusive. I found an old acquaintance in the under-prefect, who was thus enabled to state who we were. The carriage in which we travelled was next examined; while we were ourselves retained in a species of solitary confinement. I obtained leave, however, to visit the Prince about four o'clock.

While on my way to the prefecture, and though guarded by a non-commissioned officer, several individuals addressed me: some put notes secretly into my hands; others whispered something friendly; while all united in assuring me we might feel perfectly tranquil, for the patriots and well-intentioned inhabitants would protect us.

Towards the evening we were allowed to depart; and by this time things had so totally changed, that we left the inn amidst the most

lively acclamations: females of the lower classes, in tears, kissed our hands: many persons offered to accompany us, that we might avoid the enemies of the Emperor, who, they said, lay in wait to murder us, at a short distance from the town. This singular transition was in some degree due to the arrival of numbers of country people and federates, who gave an immediate turn to public opinion.

4th.—On approaching Rochefort we met a party of gendarmerie, who, on the report of our reception at Saintes, had been despatched to meet us. We arrived at this place about two o'clock in the morning: the Emperor had reached it on the preceding evening.* Prince Joseph arrived in the afternoon; when I conducted him to the Emperor.

I profited by the first moment of leisure to inform the President of the Council of State why I absented myself. "Rapid and important events," said I, "obliged me to quit Paris without the necessary leave of absence. The peculiarity and importance of the case led to this irregularity: being in attendance on the Emperor at the moment of his departure, it was impossible to see the great man, who had governed us with so much splen-

* The following is the Emperor's Itinerary during the journey:—Left Paris on the 29th June, and slept at Rambouillet; at Tours on the 30th; and at Niort on the 1st July. Left Niort on the 2d, and reached Rochefort on the 3d; remained there till the 8th; embarked on board the Bellerophon on the 15th.

dour, and who banished himself to facilitate the tranquillity of France, of whose power nothing now remains but its glory and name;—I repeat, that I could not allow him to depart without yielding to the desire of following his steps. During the days of his prosperity he condescended to bestow some favours on me; I now owe him all that I can offer, whether of sentiment or of action."

5th—7th. At Rochefort, the Emperor no longer wore a military dress. He lived at the prefecture: numbers were constantly grouped round the house; and acclamations continued to be frequently repeated. The Emperor appeared two or three times at the balcony. Numerous proposals were made to him, both by generals who came in person, and others who sent emissaries.

During our stay here the Emperor has led the same sort of life as if at the Tuileries: we do not approach his person more frequently: he scarcely receives any persons but Bertrand and Savary; so that we are reduced to reports and conjectures as to all that concerns him. It is, however, evident that, in the midst of this state of agitation, he continues calm and resolute, even to indifference, without manifesting the least anxiety.

A lieutenant of our navy, who commands a Danish merchant-ship, has generously offered to save the Emperor. He proposes to take him on

board alone; engages to conceal his person in such a way, that it will escape the severest scrutiny; and, moreover, will immediately set sail for the United States. He demands but a small sum by way of indemnifying his owners for any loss they may sustain through his enterprize. Bertrand agrees under certain conditions, which he has drawn out in my name. I have signed this fictitious bargain in presence, and under the eyes of, the maritime prefect.

Embarkation of the Emperor.

8th. The Emperor proceeded to Fourras in the evening, followed by the acclamations of the people wherever he passed. He slept on board the Saal,* which he reached about eight o'clock. I did not arrive till a much later hour, having had to accompany Madame Bertrand in another boat, and from a different point.

9th. I attended the Emperor, who disembarked at an early hour in the Isle of Aix: he visited all the fortifications, and returned on board to breakfast.

10th. I was despatched towards the British cruisers, with the Duke de Rovigo, early in the morning, to know whether they had received the passes, which had been promised to us by the Provisional Government, to proceed to the United States. The answer was, that they had not; but

* The name of one of the frigates destined to receive Napoleon on board.—Ed.

that the matter should be instantly referred to the commander-in-chief. Having stated the supposition of the Emperor's setting sail with the frigates under flags of truce; it was replied, that they would be attacked. We then spoke of his passage in a neutral bottom; and were told in reply, that all neutrals would be strictly examined, and, perhaps, even conducted to an English port; but we were recommended to proceed to England; and it was asserted that in that country we should have no ill usage to fear. We returned at two in the afternoon.

The Bellerophon, having followed, soon after anchored in Basque Roads, in order to be nearer us; so that the ships of both nations were now in view of and very near each other.

On reaching the Bellerophon, the captain had addressed us in French: I was not eager to inform him that I knew something of his own language. Some expressions which passed between him and his officers might have injured the negotiation, had I seemed to understand them. When, a short time after, it was asked, whether we understood English, I allowed the Duke of Rovigo to reply in the negative. Our situation was quite sufficient to remove any scruples I might have otherwise entertained, rendering this little deception very pardonable. I only mention this circumstance, because, as I remained a fortnight amongst these people, I was compelled to impose a tiresome restraint upon myself, to

avoid disclosing what I had concealed in the first instance. In fact, though I could read the language with facility, yet, owing to an absence of thirteen years, and consequent want of practice, it was with considerable difficulty I understood English when spoken.

11th. All the outlets being blockaded by English ships of war, the Emperor seemed extremely uncertain as to which plan he would pursue. Neutral vessels, and *chasse-marées*,* manned by young naval officers, were suggested for his conveyance; propositions also continued to be made from the interior.

12th. The Emperor disembarked at the Island of Aix, amidst cries of exultation on every side. He quitted the frigates in consequence of the commandant's having refused to sail; whether from weakness of character, or owing to his having received fresh orders from the Provisional Government, is not known. Many were of opinion that the attempt might be made with some probability of success; but it must be allowed that the winds still continued unfavourable.

13th. Prince Joseph visited his brother in the course of the day. Towards eleven at night the Emperor was on the point of embarking in one of the chasse-marées; two having been prepared, and some property and attendants already on board. M. de Planat was in one of them.

* Small vessels not unlike luggers, and usually employed as coasting-vessels in France.—Ed.

14th. I returned to the Bellerophon at four in the morning, accompanied by General Lallemand, to ascertain whether any answer had been received. The Captain told us he expected it every moment; adding, that if the Emperor would embark immediately for England, he had instructions to convey him thither. He still farther declared it as his private opinion, and several captains who were present expressed themselves to the same effect, that there was not the least doubt of Napoleon's meeting with all possible respect and good treatment: that there, neither the king nor his ministers exercised the same arbitrary authority as those of the Continent: that the English people possessed a generosity of sentiment and liberality of opinion, far above sovereignty itself. I replied, that I would return and communicate the Captain's offer to the Emperor, as well as the whole of his conversation. I added, that I thought I had a sufficient knowledge of the Emperor Napoleon's character to induce a belief that he would not feel much hesitation in proceeding to England thus confidentially, so as to be able to continue his voyage to the United States. I described all France, south of the Loire, as being in a blaze; stated the propositions hourly made to him from various directions; his determination not to become either the cause or pretext of a civil war; the generosity shewn by him in abdicating, merely to render the conclusion of a peace more easy; and the firm resolution he had taken,

to banish himself in order to make it more prompt and complete.

General Lallemand, who, from having been condemned to death, was interested on his own account in the determination that might be made, asked Captain Maitland, whom he formerly knew in Egypt, and whose prisoner, I think, he had been, if persons implicated in the civil dissensions of his country, like himself, and going thus voluntarily to England, had any reason to fear being ever delivered up to France. The Captain replied, that they had not: repelling the doubt as an insult. Previous to our separating, the conference was summed up, by my repeating, that it was possible, from the state of affairs and his own intentions, the Emperor would avail himself of Captain Maitland's offer, so as to get safe-conducts for America. The latter begged it to be understood, that he would not guarantee the permission we demanded, being granted; upon which we departed. To say the truth, I did not myself think it would be given; but the Emperor, wishing to lead a life of tranquillity in future, had resolved to be a stranger to political concerns: we therefore conceived the probability of not being allowed to leave England without much uneasiness; but our fears and conjectures went no farther. It is very likely that Captain Maitland was of the same opinion: at all events, I will do him, as well as the other officers, the justice to believe, they were honest and sincere in

the description they gave us of the sentiments of the people of England.

We reached the island at eleven o'clock; meanwhile the storm approached, and time became precious: it was necessary to decide one way or another. The Emperor having assembled us in a sort of council, all the chances of escape were discussed: that of the Danish vessel seemed impracticable, and the chasse-marées were no longer thought of; the English cruisers were not to be forced; so that there seemed only two alternatives—either to renew the war, or to accept the offers of Captain Maitland: the latter was chosen. On reaching the Bellerophon, we said, we shall be at once on British ground; the English will then find themselves bound by the ties of hospitality, which are held sacred amongst the most barbarous nations; we shall also be under the civil rights and privileges of the country. The people of England will not be so insensible to their glory as not to seize so fortunate a circumstance with avidity: upon this, Napoleon wrote the following letter to the Prince Regent.

"Royal Highness—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which

I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

I set out about four o'clock, with my son and General Gourgaud, to go on board the Bellerophon, whence I was not again to return. My mission was to announce the coming of his Majesty on the following morning; and moreover, to deliver the letter above quoted to Captain Maitland. General Gourgaud was commissioned to carry the Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent immediately, and to present it in person. Captain Maitland read Napoleon's letter, which he greatly admired. Two other captains were permitted to take copies of it, to be kept secret till it became public; after which no time was lost in preparing to despatch Gourgaud in the Slaney, a sloop of war, forming part of the squadron.

Soon after the Slaney had parted company with the Bellerophon, and while I was seated in the captain's cabin of the latter with my son, Captain Maitland, who had gone to issue some orders, suddenly entered, and with a countenance expressive of deep concern, exclaimed, "Count Las Casas, I am deceived when I treat with you. The consequence of detaching one of my ships is, as I have just heard, that Napoleon has escaped. Should this be the case, it will place me in a dreadful situation with my Government." These

words startled me: I would have given the world had they been true. The Emperor had made no engagement; I was perfectly sincere; and would, therefore, have most willingly become the victim of an event of which I was quite innocent. I asked Captain Maitland, with the utmost coolness, at what hour the Emperor was said to have set out. He had been so astonished, that he had not given himself time to inquire; but went out again to ascertain this point; and on returning, said, "at twelve o'clock." If that be the case, I replied, the Slaney's departure can do no harm, as you have only just sent her away; but do not be uneasy, for I left the Emperor in the Island of Aix at four o'clock. "Are you sure of that?" said he. On my repeating the fact, he turned to some officers who were with him, and observed, in English, that the intelligence must be false, as I was too calm, and seemed to be sincere; and that I had, besides, pledged my word on the subject.

The English cruisers had numerous sources of information on our coast: I was subsequently enabled to ascertain that they were minutely informed of all our proceedings. *

* While on our passage to St. Helena, Admiral Cockburn placed his library at our disposal. One of our party in turning over the leaves of a volume of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, found a letter from La Rochelle, addressed to the commanding officer of the English squadron: it contained, word for word, the whole of our affair relative to the Danish ship; the moment of her projected departure, future intentions, &c. We passed this letter from hand to hand, taking care that it should be replaced where

Nothing was now thought of but preparing for the next day. Captain Maitland having asked whether I wished his boats to be sent for the Emperor; I replied, that the separation was too painful for the French seamen, not to let them have the satisfaction of attending him to the last moment.

Embarkation of Napoleon on board the Bellerophon.

15th. At daylight, one of our brigs, the Epervier, was seen under weigh, and coming towards the Bellerophon, having a flag of truce flying. Both wind and tide being contrary, Captain Maitland sent his barge to meet her. Seeing the boat return, the Captain was extremely anxious to discover, with his spy-glass, whether the Emperor was on board; he frequently begged I would look myself, but I could not as yet reply with certainty: at length the matter was placed beyond farther doubt, as the Emperor came alongside surrounded by all his attendants. I stood at the gangway to present Captain Maitland, to

first discovered. It gave us very little information; we were aware of the understanding which existed both in and out of France, but were desirous of seeing a proof of it so much to the point. How did this letter happen to get on board the Northumberland? Captain Maitland had doubtless, when transferring us to that ship, also delivered up the documents concerning our capture. This was the letter which occasioned so much alarm on the part of the Captain, relative to the supposed escape of the Emperor, soon after my embarkation.

whom he said, "I come on board your ship, to "place myself under the protection of the laws "of England."—The captain then led him into his cabin, of which the Emperor was immediately put in possession. All the officers of the Bellerophon were presented to him soon after: this ceremony over, he came out of the cabin, and visited every part of the ship during the morning. I related the alarm felt by Captain Maitland the preceding evening relative to his escape; the Emperor did not see the matter in the light in which it had appeared to me—"What had he to fear?" he asked, in an emphatic and dignified manner—"were not you in his power?"

Towards four o'clock, the Superb, a seventy-four gun ship, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Hotham, the commander on the station, anchored close to the Bellerophon. The admiral came to visit the Emperor, and remained to dinner. From the questions asked by Napoleon relative to his ship, he expressed a wish to know whether his Majesty would condescend to go on board the following day; upon which the Emperor said he had no objection, and would therefore breakfast with the Admiral accompanied by all his attendants.

16th. Accompanied the Emperor on board the Superb: all the honours, except those of firing cannon, were liberally done; we went round the ship and examined the most trifling objects: every thing seemed to be in admirable order. Admiral

Hotham evinced, throughout, all the refinement and grace of a man of rank and education. On our return to the Bellerophon, she got under weigh, and made sail for England: this event took place twelve days after our departure from Paris.

On our leaving the Bellerophon in the morning to visit the Superb, the Emperor stopped short in front of the guard drawn up on the quarter-deck to salute him. He made them perform several movements, giving the word of command himself: having desired them to charge bayonets, and perceiving this motion was not performed altogether in the French manner, he advanced into the midst of the soldiers, put the weapons aside with his hands, and seized a musquet from one of the rear rank, with which he went through the exercise himself according to our method. A sudden movement and change of countenance amongst the officers and others who were present, sufficiently expressed their astonishment at seeing the Emperor thus carelessly place himself amidst English bayonets, some of which came in contact with his person. This circumstance produced a most striking effect. On returning from the Superb, we were indirectly questioned on the subject, and asked whether the Emperor had ever acted in the same way with his own soldiers; while the greatest surprise was expressed at his confidence. Not one amongst the officers had formed

any idea of sovereigns who could thus explain and execute their own commands; it was therefore easy to perceive they had no just conception of the personage now before them, notwithstanding his having been so marked an object of attention and curiosity for above twenty years.

17th—18th. Though nearly a calm, we lost sight of land.

19th. The wind being very strong, though not favourable, we proceeded at the rate of nine miles an hour.

20th—22d. We continued our course, with winds that were by no means favourable.

The Emperor was not long amongst his most inveterate enemies, those who had been continually fed with rumours no less absurd that irritating, without exercising all the influence of glory over them. The captain, officers, and crew soon adopted the etiquette of his suite, shewing him exactly the same attention and respect: the Captain addressed him either as *Sire* or *your Majesty;* when he appeared on deck every one took off his hat, and remained uncovered while he was present—this was not the case at first. There was no entering his cabin, except by passing the attendants: no persons but those who were invited appeared at his table. Napoleon was, in fact, an Emperor, on board the Bellerophon. He often appeared on deck, conversing either with some of his suite or the officers of the ship.

Of all those who had followed the Emperor,

I was perhaps the person of whom he knew the least: it has already been seen that, notwithstanding my employments near his person, I had enjoyed but little immediate intercourse with Napoleon; since our leaving Paris he had scarcely spoken to me, but I was now addressed very frequently.

The occasion and circumstances were highly favourable to me; I was sufficiently acquainted with the English language to be able to give various explanations as to what was passing around us. I had been in the navy, and could afford the Emperor any information he required relative to the manœuvres of the ship, and state of the weather. I had been ten years in England, and had formed definite notions of the laws, manners, and customs of the people; which enabled me to reply to the Emperor's questions with facility. My Historical Atlas, too, had stored my mind with a number of facts, dates, and coincidences, upon which he always found me prepared to answer.

A part of my time was occupied in drawing up the following summary of our situation at Rochefort, and the notions which had dictated the determination of the Emperor.

Summary dictated by Napoleon himself.

The English squadron was not strong: there were two sloops of war off Bordeaux, they blockaded a French corvette and gave chace to American vessels which sailed daily in great numbers.

At the Isle of Aix we had two frigates well armed; the Vulcan corvette, one of the largest vessels of its class, and a large brig, lay in the roads: the whole of this force was blockaded by an English seventy-four of the smallest class, and an indifferent sloop or two. There is not the least doubt that by risking the sacrifice of one or two of our ships, we should have passed, but the senior captain was deficient in resolution, and refused to sail; the second in command was quite determined, and would have made the attempt: the former had probably received secret instructions from Fouché, who already openly betrayed the Emperor, and wanted to give him up. However that may be, there was nothing to be done by sea. The Emperor then landed at the Isle of Aix.

"Had the mission been confided to Admiral Werhuel," said Napoleon, "as was promised on our departure from Paris, it is probable he would have sailed." The officers and crews of both frigates were full of attachment and enthusiasm. The garrison of Aix was composed of fifteen hundred seamen, forming a very fine regiment; the officers were so indignant at the frigate not sailing, that they proposed to fit out two chasse-marées of fifteen tons each: the midshipmen wished to navigate them; but when on the point of putting this plan into execution, it was said there would be great difficulty in gaining the American coast without touching on some point of Spain or Portugal.

Under these circumstances the Emperor com-

posed a species of council, from amongst the individuals of his suite: here it was represented that we could no longer calculate on the frigates or other armed vessels; that the chasse-marées held out no probable chance of success, and could only lead to capture by the English cruisers in the open sea, or to falling into the hands of the allies; only two alternatives remained; that of marching towards the interior, once more to try the fate of arms; or that of seeking an asylum in England. To follow up the first there were fifteen hundred seamen, full of zeal and willing to act: the commandant of the Island was an old officer of the army of Egypt, entirely devoted to Napoleon: the Emperor would have proceeded at the head of these to Rochefort, where the corps would have been increased by the garrison, which was also extremely well disposed: the garrison of La Rochelle, composed of four battalions of federated troops, had offered their services: with these we might then have joined General Clausel, so firmly fixed at the head of the army at Bordeaux, or General Lamarque, who had performed prodigies, with that of La Vendée; both these officers expected and wished to see Napoleon: it would have been exceedingly easy to maintain a civil war in the interior. But Paris was taken, and the Chambers had been dissolved; there were, besides, from five to six hundred thousand of the enemy's troops in France; a civil war could therefore have no other result than leading to the destruction of all these ge-

nerous men who were attached to Napoleon. This loss would have been severe and irreparable: it would have destroyed the future resources of the nation, without producing any other advantage than placing the Emperor in a position to treat and obtain stipulations favourable to his interests. But Napoleon had renounced sovereignty; he only wanted a tranquil asylum; he abhorred the thought of seeing all his friends perish to attain so trifling a result; he was equally averse to become the pretext for the provinces being ravaged; and above all, he did not wish to deprive the national party of its truest supports, which would sooner or later re-establish the honour and independence of France. Napoleon's only wish was to live as a private individual in future: America was the most proper place, and that of his choice. But even England, with its positive laws, might also answer; and it appeared, from the nature of my first interview with Captain Maitland, that the latter was empowered to convey the Emperor and suite to England to be equitably treated. From this moment we were under the protection of British laws; and the people of England were too fond of glory to lose an opportunity which thus presented itself, and that ought to have formed the proudest page of their history. It was therefore resolved to surrender to the English cruisers, as soon as Captain Maitland should positively declare his orders to receive us. On renewing the negotiation, he clearly

stated that he had the authority of his Government to receive the Emperor, if he would come on board the Bellerophon, and to convey him as well as his suite to England. Napoleon went on board, not that he was constrained to it by events, since he could have remained in France; but because he wished to live as a private individual, would no longer meddle with public affairs, and had determined not to embroil those of France. He would, most assuredly, not have adopted this plan had he suspected the unworthy treatment which was preparing for him, as every body will readily feel convinced. His letter to the Prince Regent fully explains his confidence and persuasion on the subject. Captain Maitland, to whom it was officially communicated before the Emperor embarked on board his ship, having made no remarks on the above document, had, by this circumstance alone, recognized and sanctioned the sentiments it contained.

23d. Saw Ushant at four in the morning, having passed it in the night. From the moment of approaching the Channel, ships of the line and frigates were seen sailing in various directions. The coast of England was discovered towards evening.

24th. We anchored at Torbay about eight in the morning; the Emperor had risen at six, and went on the poop, whence he surveyed the coast and anchorage. I remained by his side to give the explanations he required.

Captain Maitland immediately dispatched a messenger to Lord Keith, the commander-in-chief at Plymouth. General Gourgaud rejoined us: he had been obliged to give up the letter for the Prince Regent; he had not only been refused permission to land, but prohibited from all communication. This was a bad omen, and the first indication of those numberless tribulations which followed.

No sooner had it transpired that the Emperor was on board the Bellerophon, than the bay was covered with vessels and boats full of people. The owner of a beautiful country-seat in sight of the ship sent his Majesty a present of various fruits.

25th. The concourse of boats and crowds of spectators continued without intermission. The Emperor saw them from the cabin windows, and occasionally shewed himself on deck. On returning from the shore, Captain Maitland handed me a letter from Lady C., enclosing another from my wife. My surprise was extreme, and not less than my satisfaction; but the former ceased when I reflected that the length of the passage had given the French papers time to transmit an account of what had occurred to a considerable distance, so that whatever related to the Emperor and his suite was already known in England, where we had even been expected for five or six days before. My wife hastened to address Lady C. on the subject, and the latter wrote to Captain Maitland, to whom she enclosed my letters, without knowing him.

My wife's letter bespoke feelings of tender affliction; but that of Lady C., who, from being in London, had heard our future destiny, was full of reproaches—"I was not my own master, thus to dispose of myself; it was a crime to abandon my wife and children," &c. Melancholy result of our modern systems of education, which tend so little to elevate our minds that we cannot conceive either the merit or charm of heroic resolutions! We think all has been said, and every plea justified, when the danger of private interests and domestic enjoyments is put forward,—little imagining that the first duty towards a wife is to place her in a situation of honour, and that the richest inheritance we can leave our children is the example of some virtues, and a name to which a little true glory is attached.

26th. Orders had arrived in the night for the ship immediately to repair to Plymouth: having sailed at an early hour, we reached our new destination at four o'clock in the afternoon, ten days after our departure from Rochefort, twenty-seven after quitting Paris, and thirty-five from the Emperor's abdication. Our horizon became greatly overcast from this day. Armed boats were placed round the ship; those whom curiosity had attracted were driven away, even by firing musquetry at them. Lord Keith, who was in the bay, did not come on board. Two frigates made the signal for sailing immediately; we were told that a courier extraordinary had

brought dispatches for a distant quarter. In the morning, some of our party were distributed amongst other vessels. Every visage seemed now to look at us with a sullen interest; the most sinister reports had reached the ship; several destinations were mentioned, each more frightful than the other.

Imprisonment in the Tower of London was the least terrific, and some spoke of St. Helena. Meanwhile the two frigates, which had greatly excited my attention, got under weigh, though the wind was contrary for leaving the roadstead, stood towards us, and anchored on each side, nearly touching the Bellerophon. Upon this, some person whispered to me that these ships were to receive us in the course of the night, and to sail for St. Helena.

Never can I pourtray the effect of these terrible words! A cold sweat overspread my whole frame: it was an unexpected sentence of death! Unpitying executioners had seized me: I was torn from all that attached me to life. I extended my arms sorrowfully towards those who were dear to me, but in vain; my fate was inevitable! This thought, together with a crowd of others which arose in equal disorder, excited a real tempest of the mind. It was like the struggle of a soul that sought to disengage itself from its earthly habitation! It turned my hair grey!——Fortunately the crisis was short, and, as it happened, the mind came forth triumphant; so much so

indeed, that from this moment I seemed above the world. I felt that I could thenceforth defy injustice, ill treatment, and sufferings. Above all, I vowed that neither complaints nor solicitation should escape me. But let not those of my companions to whom I appeared tranquil in those fatal circumstances, accuse me of being deficient in feeling! Their agony was prolonged in detail—mine operated all at once.

One of those coincidences, which is not the least extraordinary of my life, recurred to my thoughts soon after. Twenty years before, and during my emigration to England, without possessing any worldly goods, I had refused to seek a certain fortune in India, because it was too remote, and I thought myself too old. Now, at twenty years older, I was about to quit my family, friends, fortune, and enjoyments, to become a voluntary exile, two thousand miles off, in the midst of the ocean, *for nothing*. But no, I am mistaken! the sentiment that now impelled me was infinitely superior to the riches I then disdained: I followed him who had governed the world and will occupy the attention of posterity.

The Emperor continued to appear on deck as usual. I sometimes saw him in his cabin, but without communicating what I had heard: I wished to console him, and not to be his tormentor. The reports had, however, reached him: but he had come so freely and confidently on board the Bellerophon; he had been so strongly invited by

the English themselves; he so completely regarded his letter to the Prince Regent, transmitted beforehand to Captain Maitland, as so many tacit conditions; he had, in fact, acted with such magnanimity throughout the proceeding, that he repelled with indignation all the fears which were attempted to be excited in him, not even permitting those around him to entertain doubts.

27th—28th. It would be difficult to describe our torments and anxiety at this moment: most of us were dumb and inanimate. The least circumstance which transpired from the shore—an opinion, however unimportant, expressed on board—an unmeaning paragraph in a daily paper, became the subjects of our most serious arguments, and the cause of perpetual oscillations between our hopes and fears. The most trifling reports were sought with avidity; whoever appeared was urged to give a favourable version of deceitful anticipations: so little do the ardour and activity of our national character contribute to endow us with that stoical resignation, that imperturbable composure which can only be acquired from settled principles and positive doctrines imbibed from early infancy.

The public papers, particularly those of the ministerial side, were let loose against us; it was the outcry of Ministers preparing the blow they were about to strike. It would not be easy to form an idea of the horrors, falsehoods, and imprecations accumulated on our heads; and there is

always a portion communicated to the multitude; however well disposed it may be, so that the demeanour of those around us became less easy, while their politeness became embarrassed and their countenances more misgiving.

Lord Keith, after announcing himself for sometime before, had only just made his appearance. It was evident that our company was shunned, our conversation avoided. The papers contained an account of the measures which were about to be taken; but, as nothing official had appeared and there was some contradiction in the details, we were induced to flatter ourselves as to the final result: thus remaining in that state of suspense and uncertainty which is worse than a knowledge of the most painful truths. Nevertheless, our arrival in England had produced a singular sensation: the presence of the Emperor excited a curiosity bordering on delirium. It was the papers themselves that informed us of the circumstance, while they condemned it. All England seemed to hurry towards Plymouth. A person who had left London, on hearing of my arrival, was obliged to stop on the road for want of post-horses and accommodation. The Sound was covered with an immense number of boats; for some of which, we heard, above fifty pounds had been paid.

The Emperor, to whom I read all the newspapers, did not betray any decrease of composure

either by his conversation or general habits. It was known that he always appeared on deck towards five o'clock. A short time before this hour, all the boats collected along-side of each other; there were thousands; and so closely connected that the water could no longer be seen between them: they looked more like a multitude assembled in a public square than any thing else. When the Emperor came out, the noise and gestures of so many people presented a most striking spectacle: it was, at the same time, very easy to perceive that nothing hostile was meant, and that if curiosity had brought them, they felt interested on going away; we could even see that the latter sentiment continued to increase;—at first people merely looked towards the ship, they ended by saluting; some remained uncovered, and occasionally went so far as to cheer. Even our symbols began to appear amongst them. Several individuals of both sexes came decorated with red carnations, but this was only turned to our detriment in the eyes of the Ministry and its partisans, so that it rendered our agony more poignant.

It was under these circumstances that the Emperor, who, notwithstanding his calm demeanor, could not help being struck by what he heard, dictated a paper to me, worthy of serving as a model to jurists, discussing and defending his real political situation: we found means of conveying it on shore, but I have kept no copy.

Ministerial Decision.

29th—30th. A report had circulated during the two previous days, that an under-secretary of state was coming from London officially to notify the resolutions of the Ministers with respect to the Emperor. Accordingly he appeared; it was Sir Charles Bunbury: he came on board, accompanied by Lord Keith, and delivered a dispatch ordering the removal of the Emperor to St. Helena, and limiting the number of persons who were to accompany Napoleon to three, excluding, however, the Duke de Rovigo and General Lallemand, comprised in the list of proscribed.

I was not called before the Emperor. The bearers of his sentence spoke and understood French; they were admitted alone. I have since heard, that he objected and protested, with no less energy than logic, against the violence exercised on his person. "He was the guest of England," said Napoleon, "and not its prisoner, he came of "his own accord to place himself under the protec- "tion of its laws; the most sacred rights of hos- "pitality were violated in his person; he would "never submit voluntarily to the outrage they "were preparing for him: violence alone should "oblige him to do so, &c."

The Emperor gave me the ministerial document to translate for him, of which the following is a copy.

Communication made by Lord Keith, in the name of the English Ministers.

"As it may, perhaps, be convenient for General Buonaparte to learn, without farther delay, the intentions of the British Government with regard to him, your Lordship will communicate the following information.

"It would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country and the allies of his Majesty, if General Buonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account, that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, so far as this is required by the foregoing important object.

"The island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence; its climate is healthy, and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot, owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person.

"General Buonaparte is allowed to select amongst those persons who accompanied him to England, (with the exception of Generals Savary and Lallemand) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena; these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British Government.

"Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is named Commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and seas adjacent, will convey General Buonaparte and his suite to St. Helena; and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service.

"Sir G. Cockburn will, most probably, be ready to sail in a few days; for which reason it is desirable that General Buonaparte should make choice of the persons who are to accompany him without delay."

Although we expected our transportation to St. Helena, we were deeply affected by its announcement; it threw us all into a state of consternation. The Emperor did not, however, fail to appear on deck as usual, with the same countenance; and, as before, tranquilly surveyed the crowds which seemed so eager to see him.

31st. Our situation had now become truly frightful; our sufferings beyond every power of description; our existence was about to cease with regard to Europe, our country, families, and friends, as well as our enjoyments and habits. It is true, we were not forced to follow the Emperor; but our choice was that of martyrs; the question was a renunciation of faith, or death. Another circumstance was added, which greatly increased our torments; this was the exclusion of Generals Savary and Lallemand, whom it struck with the ut-

most terror: they saw nothing but a scaffold before them, and felt persuaded that the Ministers of England, making no distinction between the political acts of a revolution, and crimes committed in a moment of tranquillity, would give them up to their enemies to be sacrificed. This would have been such an outrage on all law, such an opprobrium for England herself, that her enemies would be almost tempted to invoke it; but it was only for those who were included in the same proscription to talk thus. At all events, we did not hesitate to desire that each of us might be amongst those whom the Emperor would choose; entertaining but one fear, that of finding ourselves excluded.

August 1st. We still continued in the same state. I received a letter from London, in which it was strongly urged that I should be extremely wrong, nay that it would even be a crime, to expatriate myself. The person who thus wrote, also addressed Captain Maitland, begging he would assist by his efforts and counsel to dissuade me from such a resolution. But I stopped him short, by observing that, at my age, people generally acted on reflection.

I read the papers every day to the Emperor. Whether influenced by generosity, or that opinions began to be divided, there were two amongst the number that pleaded our cause with great warmth, compensating in some measure for the gross falsehoods and scurrilous abuse with which the

others were filled. We gave ourselves up to the hope, that the hatred inspired by an enemy, would be succeeded by the interest which splendid actions ought naturally to excite; that England abounded in noble hearts and elevated minds, which would indubitably become our ardent advocates.

The number of boats increased daily. Napoleon continued to appear at his usual hour, and the reception became more and more flattering.

Numbers of every rank and condition had followed the Emperor; he was still with regard to most of us, as if at the Tuileries; the Grand Marshal and Duke de Rovigo alone saw him habitually. Some had not approached or spoken to him more frequently than if we had been at Paris. I was called during the day, whenever there were any papers or letters to translate, until the Emperor insensibly contracted the habit of sending for me every evening towards eight o'clock, to converse with him a short time.

In the conversation of this evening, and after touching on various other subjects, he asked me whether I would accompany him to St. Helena. I replied with great frankness, rendered more easy by my real sentiments, observing to his Majesty, that in quitting Paris I had disregarded every chance; and that, therefore, that of St. Helena had nothing which could make it an exception. There were, however, a great many of us round his person, while only three were per-

mitted to go out. As some people considered it a crime in me to leave my family, it was necessary with regard to the latter, and my own conscience, to know that I could be useful and agreeable to him—that, in fact, I required to be chosen; but that this last observation did not spring from any concealed motive, for my life was henceforth at his disposal without any restriction.

While thus engaged, Madame Bertrand, without having been called, and even without announcing her name, rushed into the cabin, and in a frantic manner, entreated the Emperor not to go to St. Helena, nor take her husband with him. But observing the astonishment, coolness, and calm answer of Napoleon, she ran out as precipitately as she had entered. The Emperor, still surprised, turned to me and said, "Can you comprehend all this? Is she not mad?" In a moment after, loud shrieks were heard, and every body seemed to be running towards the stern of the ship. Being desired to ring the bell, and to inquire the cause, I found it was Madame Bertrand, who, on leaving the cabin, had attempted to throw herself into the sea, and was prevented with the greatest difficulty. From this scene it is easy to judge of our general feelings!

Remarkable Words of the Emperor.

2d—3d. In the morning the Duke de Rovigo told me I was certainly to depart for St

Helena: while in conversation with the Emperor a short time before, his Majesty had said to him, that if there were only two to accompany him I should be one of the number, as he thought I could afford him some consolation. I am indebted to the candour and kindness of the Duke, for the satisfaction of being made acquainted with this flattering assurance, and am truly grateful, as, but for him, it would never have been known to me. The Emperor had not said a word in reply to my answer: this was his custom, as I shall have other opportunities of showing.

I had no particular acquaintance with any of those who had followed the Emperor, except General and Madame Bertrand, who had shown me great attention during my mission to Illyria, where he was Governor-General. I had until then never spoken to the Duke de Rovigo, certain prepossessions having induced me to keep at a distance; we had, however, scarcely exchanged a few words, when my scruples were completely removed. Savary was sincerely attached to the Emperor; I knew he possessed warmth of heart, sincerity, and uprightness of character, qualities which rendered him susceptible of real friendship: we should, therefore, I dare say have become very intimate.

I was again sent for by the Emperor; who, after alluding to different subjects, began to speak of St. Helena, asking me what sort of a place it

could be? whether it was possible to exist there? and similar questions. "But," said he, "after "all, am I quite sure of going there? Is a man "dependent on others, when he wishes that his "dependence should cease?"—We continued to walk to and fro in the cabin; he seemed calm, though affected, and somewhat absent.

"My friend," continued the Emperor, "I have "sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this "would not be very difficult; it is only necessary "to create a little mental excitement, and I shall "soon have escaped.—All will be over, and you "can then tranquilly rejoin your families. This "is the more easy, since my internal principles do "not oppose any bar to it;—I am one of those "who conceive that the pains of the other world "were only imagined as a counterpoise to those "inadequate allurements which are offered to "us there. God can never have willed such a "contradiction to his infinite goodness, especially "for an act of this kind; and what is it after all, "but wishing to return to him a little sooner?"

I remonstrated warmly against such notions. Poets and philosophers had said that it was a spectacle worthy of the Divinity, to see men struggling with fortune: reverses and constancy had their glory. Such a great and noble character as his could not descend to the level of vulgar minds; he who had governed us with so much glory, who had excited the admiration, and in-

fluenced the destinies, of the world, could not end like a desperate gamester or disappointed lover. What would then become of all those who looked up to and placed their hopes in him? Would he thus abandon the field to his enemies? The anxiety shown by the latter to drive him to it was surely sufficient to make him resist: who, besides, could tell the secrets of time, or dare assert what the future would produce. What might not the mere change of a ministry, death of a Prince, that of a confidant, the slightest burst of passion, or the most trifling dispute, bring about?

"Some of these suggestions have their weight," said the Emperor, "but what can we do in that "desolate place?"—"Sire," I replied, "we will live "on the past: there is enough of it to satisfy us. "Do we not enjoy the life of Cæsar and that of "Alexander? We shall possess still more, you will "re-peruse yourself, Sire!" "Be it so!" rejoined Napoleon; "we will write our memoirs. Yes, "we must be employed; for occupation is the "scythe of time. After all, a man ought to fulfil "his destinies; this is my grand doctrine:*

* The following is a document, which the above circumstance contributes to render still more precious: it is an order of the day, issued by the First Consul to his guard, against suicide.

Order of the 22 Floreal, Year X.

"The grenadier Gobain has committed suicide from love: he was in other respects an excellent soldier. This is the second incident of the same nature that has occurred within a month.

"let mine also be accomplished." Re-assuming from this instant an air of ease and even gaiety, he passed on to subjects totally unconnected with our situation.

Departure from Plymouth.—Continuance in the Channel.—Protest.

4th. Orders had arrived during the night for us to sail at an early hour; when under weigh, our curiosity was greatly excited. The newspapers, official communications, and private conversations, told us we were to be conveyed to St. Helena by the Northumberland; we knew that this ship was still fitting out at Portsmouth or Chatham, so that we might still calculate on eight or ten days' delay. The Bellerophon was too old for the voyage, she had not provisions enough; moreover the wind was contrary; when therefore we saw the ship returning up Channel, our uncertainty and conjectures were renewed, but whatever these might be, every thing was welcome when compared to the idea of transportation to St. Helena.

"The first Consul directs it to be inserted in the order-book of the Guard:—

"That a soldier ought to know how to vanquish the pangs and melancholy of the passions; that there is as much true courage in bearing up against mental sufferings with constancy, as in remaining firm on the wall of a battery.

"To give ourselves up to grief without resistance, or to kill ourselves to escape affliction, is to abandon the field of battle before the victory is gained."

Nevertheless, it occurred to us, that in such a decisive moment, the Emperor was bound to show an official opposition to this violence; as to Napoleon himself, he attached but little importance to it, nor would he trouble himself about the matter. However, said we, it will be a weapon in the hands of our friends, and leave causes of remembrance as well as grounds of defence with the public. I ventured, therefore, to read a paper I had prepared to his Majesty, with the general sense of which he seemed pleased; after suppressing a few phrases, and correcting others, it was signed and sent to Lord Keith. The following is a literal copy of this document.

PROTEST.

"I hereby solemnly protest in the face of heaven and mankind, against the violence that is done me; and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the Bellerophon—I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. I came at the instigation of the Captain himself, who said he had orders from the Government to receive and convey me to England, together with my suite, if agreeable to me. I came forward with confidence to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the Bellerophon, I was entitled to the hos-

pitality of the British people. If the Government, in giving the Captain of the Bellerophon orders to receive me and my followers, only wished to lay a snare, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag.

"If this act be consummated it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws, and liberties. British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

"I appeal to history: it will say, that an enemy who made war for twenty years against the English people came spontaneously, in the hour of misfortune, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and confidence? But how did England reply to such an act of magnanimity? It pretended to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and, on giving himself up with confidence, he was immolated!

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Bellerophon, at Sea,
Friday, Aug. 4th, 1815.

The Duke de Rovigo told me that the Emperor demanded permission to send me to the Prince Regent at London, but that it was obstinately refused.

The sea was rough, and the wind blew with violence. Most of us were affected with sea-sickness. But what cannot the pre-occupation of the mind effect over physical infirmities! This was, perhaps,

the only time in my life that I was not incommoded by such weather. On leaving Plymouth Sound, we stood to the eastward before the wind, but were soon after close-hauled, tacking backwards and forwards, without being able to comprehend the cause of this new source of torment.

5th. The whole of this day was passed in the same manner. While conversing with the Emperor in the evening he gave me two proofs of confidence, but I cannot now confide them to paper.*

* There is, however, one of these proofs which I am now at liberty to disclose. While walking in the stern-gallery with the Emperor, at the usual hour, he drew from under his waistcoat, still conversing on a totally different subject, a species of girdle, which he handed to me, saying, "Take care of that for me;" without interrupting him, I placed it under my own waistcoat. The Emperor told me soon after, that it contained a diamond necklace, worth two hundred thousand francs, which Queen Hortensia forced him to accept on his leaving Malmaison. After our arrival at St. Helena I frequently spoke of returning the necklace, but never received any reply. Having ventured to mention the subject again when we were at Longwood, Napoleon drily asked, "Does it annoy you?"—"No, Sire," was my answer;—"Keep it then," said he. From wearing the girdle so long, the necklace became as it were identified with my person; and I thought so little about it, that it was not till some days after my being torn from Longwood, and by the merest accident, it recurred to my memory; when I shuddered at the idea of depriving the Emperor of such a resource. For, how would it be possible now to make restitution? I was in the most rigorous confinement, surrounded by gaolers and sentinels, so

Anchored off Start Point.—Persons allowed to accompany the Emperor.

6th. We anchored about noon off Start Point, where there was no shelter whatever, though we had but a very short distance to go in order to anchor in Torbay: this circumstance excited great astonishment on our part. We had, however, heard that orders were given to meet the Northumberland, the departure of which vessel from Portsmouth was urged with all possible haste.

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that all communication was impracticable. I vainly endeavoured to contrive a plan; time pressed; only a few days were left, and nothing could be more distressing than thus to quit the island. In this predicament, I resolved to run all risks. An Englishman, to whom I had often spoken, came to the prison on a particular errand—and it was under the eyes of the governor himself, or one of his most confidential agents whom he brought, that I ventured to communicate my wishes.

"I think you are a man of principle," said I, "and I am going to put it to the test;—though with nothing injurious or contrary to your honour—merely a rich deposit to be restored to Napoleon. If you accept the charge, my son will put it into your pocket."

He answered only by slackening his pace; my son, whom I had prepared for the scene, followed us, and the necklace was transferred into this man's possession, almost in sight of the military attendants. Before quitting the island, I had the inexpressible satisfaction of knowing that the necklace had reached the hands of the Emperor. How gratifying to the heart are the recollection and recital of such a trait on the part of an enemy, and under such circumstances!

Accordingly that ship soon appeared with two frigates full of troops, which were to compose the garrison of St. Helena. These three ships came to an anchor close to us; after which the communications amongst the whole squadron became very active. The precautions lest any boats should approach were still continued. Meanwhile the mystery of our precipitate sailing from Plymouth, and all the manœuvring that followed, was discovered. Lord Keith had, we were told, received notice by telegraph, that a public officer had just left London with a writ of *habeas corpus*, to claim the person of the Emperor in the name of the laws or of some competent tribunal. We could neither verify the motives nor details of this circumstance: the Admiral, it was added, had scarcely time enough to escape this difficulty; we heard that he was suddenly obliged to go on board a brig, and quit Plymouth Sound. This was the motive which kept us out of Torbay."

Admirals Keith and Cockburn came on board the Bellerophon; the flag of the latter was flying on board the Northumberland: they had a conference with the Emperor, to whom they delivered an extract from the instructions relative to our transportation to and stay at St. Helena. These stated, that all our effects were to be examined, for the purpose of taking away the money, bills, and diamonds, belonging to the Emperor, as well as our-

selves, to be kept for us: we also heard that our arms would be taken from us at the same time, and that we were then to be transferred to the Northumberland. The documents were as follow:

Order from Lord Keith to Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon.

"All arms of every description are to be taken from the French, of whatever rank, who are on board his Majesty's ship under your command. These arms will be carefully packed, and are to remain in your charge so long as the persons to whom they belong continue on board the Bellerophon. They will then be under the charge of the captain of the ship to which the said individuals may be transferred."

Start Bay, August 6th, 1815.

Instructions of Ministers to Admiral Cockburn.

"When General Buonaparte leaves the Bellerophon to go on board the Northumberland, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Buonaparte may have brought with him. The Admiral will allow the baggage, wines, *(the wines!* an observation truly worthy of the English Ministers,) and provisions which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the Northumberland. Among the baggage his table

service shall be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready-money than for real use. His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects (consequently bills of exchange also), of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General that the British Government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his escape.

"The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by General Buonaparte, the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person as well as by the Rear-admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory. The interest or the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangement is to be left to him. For this purpose he can from time to time signify his wishes to the Admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is made to his proposal, the Admiral or the Governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his Majesty's Treasury. In case of death, *(what foresight!)* he can dispose of his property by a last Will, and may be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed. As

an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

"The Admiral is not to take any person on board for St. Helena, without the consent of such person, to whom he is previously to explain the necessity of being subjected to all the regulations which it may be thought proper to establish for securing the person of the General. It must be made known to the General, that if he make any attempt to escape, he will expose himself to close imprisonment; and that any of his suite who may be discovered in endeavouring to facilitate his escape, will incur the same punishment. (Afterwards the Act of Parliament made the latter offence death.)

"All letters which shall be addressed to him, or to any of his suite, are to be delivered in the first place to the Admiral or the Governor, who is to read them previously to transmitting them: the same regulation is to be observed with respect to letters written by the General, or those of his suite.

"The General is to be informed, that the Governor and the Admiral have received positive orders to forward to his Majesty's Government any request or representation he may think proper to make: nothing is left to their discretion

on this point; but the paper on which such representations shall be written is to remain open, in order that they may subjoin such observations as they may think expedient."

It would not be easy to conceive the intensity and nature of our feelings at this decisive moment, in which outrage, violence, and injustice were accumulated on our heads.

Constrained to reduce his suite to three persons, the Emperor selected the Grand Marshal, M. de Montholon, and myself. Gourgaud, in despair at the idea of being left behind, entered into a negotiation on the subject, and succeeded. As the instructions only allowed Napoleon to take three officers, it was agreed that I should be considered purely in a civil capacity, and to admit a fourth by the aid of this interpretation.

Conversation with Lord Keith.—Examination of the Emperor's effects.—He quits the Bellerophon.—Separation.—We sail for St. Helena.

7th. The Emperor addressed to Lord Keith a species of new protest, against the violence done to his person in forcibly removing him from the Bellerophon. I took it on board the Tonnant. Admiral Keith, a fine-looking old man, of highly polished manners, received me with great politeness, but he carefully avoided touching on the subject

of the protest, observing that he would give an answer in writing.

This did not stop me. I stated the situation of Napoleon, who was very unwell, having his legs considerably swelled; and pointed out to his Lordship how desirable it was for the Emperor not to be sent off so suddenly. He replied, that I had been a sailor, and must therefore see the anchorage was unsafe, which was certainly true.

I explained the Emperor's repugnance to have his effects searched and tossed about, as proposed; assuring him, that Napoleon would infinitely prefer seeing them thrown into the sea. The Admiral answered that as this was a positive order, he could not infringe on it. Finally, I demanded whether it was probable those appointed to search would go so far as to deprive the Emperor of his sword. He said, that it would be respected, but that Napoleon was the only person exempted, as all his followers would be disarmed. I showed him that I was already so: my sword having been taken from me before I left the Bellerophon. A secretary who was writing near us, observed to Lord Keith, in English, that the order stated that Napoleon himself was to be disarmed; upon which the Admiral drily replied, also in English, as well as I could comprehend, "mind your own business, Sir, and leave us to ourselves."

Still continuing the conversation, I went over all that had occurred from the commencement. I had been the negotiator, I said, and ought therefore to feel most acutely; and had the greater right to be heard. Lord Keith listened to me with marked impatience; we were standing, and his frequent bows were evidently intended to make me retire. When I told him that Captain Maitland said he had been authorised to bring us to England, without exciting a suspicion in our minds that we were to be prisoners of war; that the Captain could not deny we came on board voluntarily and in confidence; that the letter of the Emperor to the Prince of Wales, which I had previously communicated to Captain Maitland, must necessarily have created tacit conditions, since he made no remarks on it: at length the Admiral's ill humour and even anger broke forth, and he replied sharply, that if such were the case Captain Maitland must have been a fool, for his instructions contained nothing of the kind; and he was quite sure of this, for it was from himself they had emanated. "But, my Lord," said I, "permit me to observe, in defence of Captain Maitland, that your Lordship speaks with a degree of severity for which you may become responsible; for not only Captain Maitland, but Admiral Hotham and all the other officers whom we saw at the time conducted and expressed themselves in the same way towards

us: would it have been thus, if their instructions had been so clear and positive?" Saying this, I relieved the Admiral of my presence: he made no attempt to prolong a subject which, perhaps, his Lordship's conscience rendered somewhat painful to him.

Admiral Cockburn, aided by an officer of the customs, examined the effects of the Emperor: they seized four thousand Napoleons, and left fifteen hundred to meet present exigencies: this was all the Emperor's treasure. They were assisted, or rather impeded, in the operation by Marchand, the valet-de-chambre of his Majesty: this appeared to mortify the Admiral excessively; though requested to attend, not one amongst us would lend his presence to or witness an act which we regarded as being at once mean and outrageous.

Meanwhile, the moment of quitting the Bellerophon arrived. The Grand Marshal had been some time closeted with the Emperor; during which we remained in the outer cabin: on the door being opened, the Duke de Rovigo bursting into tears threw himself at the feet of Napoleon, who, still calm and collected, embraced the Duke, and continued his way towards the accommodation-ladder, graciously saluting all those who happened to be on the quarter-deck. The whole of our party whom we left behind were in a state

of the deepest anguish; nor could I help observing to Lord Keith, who stood near me at the time, "You see, my Lord, that the only persons who shed tears are those who remain."

We reached the Northumberland between one and two o'clock. The Emperor remained on deck conversing familiarly and cheerfully with those of the English who approached him. Lord Lowther and a Mr. Littleton had a long conversation with him on politics and government. I heard nothing of what passed: the Emperor seemed desirous that we should leave him to himself. I employed this moment of leisure in writing a last adieu to my wife and friends: indeed, I felt very unwell and much fatigued.

At the moment of getting under weigh, a cutter, that was plying round the ship to keep off the people, ran down a boat full of spectators close to us. Fatality seems to have brought them from a great distance to become the victims of this accident: I understood that there were two women amongst those who perished. Thus were we at length under sail for St. Helena, thirteen days after our arrival at Plymouth, and forty from our quitting Paris.

Those of the attendants whom Napoleon was not allowed to take with him, were the last to quit the ship, bearing with them mingled proofs of satisfaction and regret. Their departure gave

rise to a second scene, not less affecting than the first. The Emperor retired to the cabin allotted to him about seven o'clock.

The English Ministry warmly censured the respect which had been shewn to the Emperor on board the Bellerophon, and issued fresh orders in consequence; so that a totally different style of manner and expression was affected in the Northumberland. The crew seemed to betray a ridiculous anxiety to be covered before the Emperor: it had been strictly enjoined to give him no other title than that of *General*, and only to treat him as such. This was the ingenious contrivance, the happy conception engendered by the diplomacy of the English Ministers; and the title they thought proper to confer on him whom they had recognised as First Consul, whom they had so often styled head of the French Government, with whom they treated as Emperor at Paris, when Lord Lauderdale was employed to negotiate, and, perhaps, even signed articles at Chatillon. Hence, in a moment of warmth, the Emperor, in allusion to this regulation, observed: "They may call me whatever they choose, but they cannot prevent me from being *myself*." It was in fact no less whimsical than ridiculous to see the Ministers of England attach such importance to giving only the title of general to one who had governed so large a portion of Europe, and made seven or eight kings, of whom several still re-

tained this title of his creation; who had been above ten years Emperor of the French, and been anointed as well as consecrated in that quality by the head of the Church; one who could boast two or three elections of the French people to the sovereignty; who had been acknowledged as Emperor by the whole of continental Europe; had treated as such with all the sovereigns; concluding every species of alliance both of blood and interest with them: so that he united in his person every title, civil, political and religious, existing amongst men; and which, by a singular though real coincidence, not one of the reigning Princes of Europe could have shewn accumulated in an equal degree. Napoleon was not only the chief, but founder of his own dynasty. Nevertheless his Majesty, who intended had he landed in England to have assumed the name and title of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, no longer thought of it now that his legitimate titles were disputed.

Description of the Emperor's cabin on board the Northumberland.

8th—9th. The ship was in the greatest confusion, and seemed to be quite encumbered with men as well as stores and luggage: we sailed in so great a hurry, that there was scarcely any thing on board in its place, so that the whole crew were now occupied in restoring order, and preparing for the voyage.

The following particulars will afford some idea of that part of the ship occupied by the Emperor and his suite. The space abaft the mizen-mast contained two public and two private cabins; the first was a dining-room about ten feet broad, and extending the whole width of the ship, lighted by a port-hole at each end, and a sky-light above. The drawing-room was composed of all the remaining space, diminished by two symmetrical cabins on the right and left, each having an entry from the dining or mess-room, and another from the drawing-room. The Emperor occupied that on the left, in which his camp-bedstead had been put up; that on the right was appropriated to the Admiral. It was, above all, peremptorily enjoined, that the drawing-room should be in common, and not given up to the Emperor: to such a ridiculous extent had the fears and solicitude of the Ministry been carried!

The form of the dining-table resembled that of the mess-room. The Emperor sat with his back to the drawing-room or after-cabin, and looking towards the head of the ship; on his left sat Madame Bertrand, and on his right, the Admiral. On the right of the Admiral sat Madame de Montholon: these filled one side of the table. At the end next that lady was Captain Ross, who commanded the ship; opposite whom, at the corresponding end, sat M. de Montholon, by

Madame Bertrand; next him, the Admiral's secretary. The remaining space was the side of the table opposite the Emperor, which, beginning from Captain Ross, was occupied by the Grand Marshal, the General commanding the 53d regiment, myself, and Baron Gourgaud.

The Admiral invited one or two of the officers every day, who were intermixed amongst us at table. I generally sat almost opposite the Emperor. The band of the 53d, which had been recently formed, exercised during dinner at the expense of our ears. We had two courses, but there was a want of provision; our tastes were, besides, very different from those of our hosts. It is true, they did their utmost; but, after all, it would not do to be difficult. I was lodged with my son on the starboard side, even with the main-mast, in a small cabin enclosed with canvass, and having a gun in it. We made as much sail as the wind would permit to get out of the Channel, and stood along the coast of England, communicating with all the ports in order to procure additional supplies of sea-stock, and complete the stores of the ship. A large quantity of articles was brought to us from Plymouth, off which port we were joined by several other vessels, as well as from Falmouth.

We lose sight of Land.—Reflections.—Argument against the English Ministers.

10th. This day we cleared the Channel, and lost sight of land. We had now entered upon the dreary unknown course to which fate had doomed us. Again my agonies were renewed; again the dear connections I had abandoned resumed their influence over my heart. I indulged in the luxuriance of grief, and found a miserable satisfaction in its excess. "Objects of all my affections," I exclaimed, "friends of my heart, for whom alone I live, reflect that I am proving myself worthy of you. Let that thought support you also; and, oh! forget me not."

Meanwhile we advanced in our course, and were soon to be out of Europe. Thus, in less than six weeks, had the Emperor abdicated his throne, and placed himself in the hands of the English, who were now hurrying him to a barren rock in the midst of a vast ocean! This is certainly no ordinary instance of the chances of fortune, and no common trial of the firmness of the mind. Yet will posterity be better able to judge of these three leading circumstances, than we of the present day. They will have to pronounce on a clear horizon; whereas we are enveloped in clouds.

Scarcely had Napoleon descended from his throne, when those, who witnessed the misfortunes of the nation which followed, regarded his sacri-

fice as a capital error. When they heard of his being a prisoner at Plymouth, they censured his magnanimity: there was not a single incident, even to his suffering himself to be sent to St. Helena, which they did not make a subject of reproach. But such is the tendency of vulgar minds; never judging except on what they see at the moment! It is, however, impossible to judge of one resolution without considering, not only the evils which unavoidably attend it, but those which a contrary determination might have produced.

By abdicating, Napoleon rallied all the friends of their country round one point—that of its safety! He left France demanding, before all nations, nothing but the sacred rights of national independence; he took from the Allies every pretext to ravage and dismember our territory; he destroyed all idea of his personal ambition; terminating his career as the martyr of a cause of which he had been the hero. If all the advantages which might have been derived from his genius and talents as a citizen were not obtained, it is to be imputed to the weakness and treachery of the transitory Government by which he was succeeded. When he arrived at Rochefort, and the commander of the frigates refused to sail, ought he to have abandoned the fruits of his abdication? Should he have returned to the interior, and placed himself at the head of mere bands, when he

had renounced armies? or, ought he to have desperately encouraged a civil war which would lead to no beneficial result, but only serve to ruin the remaining pillars, the future hopes of the country? In this state of affairs, he formed a most magnanimous resolution, worthy of his life, and a complete refutation of the calumnies that for twenty years had been so ridiculously accumulated on his head. But what will history say of those Ministers of a liberal nation, the guardians and depositaries of popular rights—ever ardent in encouraging a Coriolanus, having only chains for a Camillus?

As to the reproach of suffering himself to be transported to St. Helena, it would be a disgrace to answer such a charge. To contend with an adversary in the cabin of a ship—kill some one with his own hand—or attempt to set fire to the powder-magazine, would have been, at best, the act of a Buccaneer. Dignity in misfortune, submission to necessity, have also their glory: it is that which becomes great men overwhelmed by adversity.

When the English Ministers found themselves in possession of Napoleon's person, passion had much more influence over them than justice or policy. They neglected the triumph of their laws, denied the rights of hospitality, disregarded their own honour, and compromised that of their country. They determined to exile their guest in the midst of the ocean, two thousand leagues

from Europe, and far from all communion with mankind. It seemed that they wished to trust to the anguish of exile, the fatigues of a long voyage, privations of every kind, and the corroding influence of a burning climate, for effecting that which they feared to perform themselves. In order, however, to gain over the public voice, to make it appear that their conduct was indispensably necessary, the newspapers were instigated to irritate the passions of the multitude, by reviving former calumnies and falsehoods; while the Ministers, on their side, represented their own determination as an engagement entered into with their allies. We presented ourselves at the moment of popular effervescence, just as every thing which could render us odious had been brought forward. The public journals were full of the most virulent declamations; maliciously raking up every act and expression of the previous struggle of twenty years, that could wound the national pride or re-kindle its hatred. Yet, when all England hurried to the south to see us, during our stay at Plymouth, the conduct and sentiments of the multitudes who came was enough to convince us that this factitious irritation would disappear of itself. Hence we were led to hope, on our departure, that the British people would daily grow more impartial in a cause to which they were no longer parties; that the current of public opinion would eventually turn against Ministers; and that we

had thus prepared formidable attacks and a terrible responsibility for them at a future day. Under these circumstances, what could these Ministers have replied had any member of Parliament risen and made use of the following argument:

"We have just been favoured by an unexampled instance of success! Fortune has caused our most constant and implacable enemy to surrender at discretion: we have suddenly found ourselves masters of the fate of the French sovereign and people: it was in our power to dispose of the future, or at least to enchain its unfavourable chances for a long period. Have our Ministers profited by so many advantages? Have they ensured our interests, happiness, and glory? Have they guaranteed a durable peace—the first of our wishes, the most pressing of our wants? Have they extinguished that turbulent agitation, that warlike disposition throughout Europe, which keeps every nation in arms? Have they secured that happy political equilibrium, which prevents revolutions, and reduces war to a mere trifle? Have they strengthened and propagated our national principles? Have they secured for us the respect and affection of the European family, as the price of our efforts in its favour? Have they proved the excellence and superiority of our institutions and laws? Alas! I hear only negatives to all these questions,

Europe was never more inflamed; its situation is at best only an armed truce; each power increases the number of its soldiers; the political balance is totally destroyed and broken. In a neighbouring state we have annihilated the very principles which form the sacred basis of our own political theory: universal jealousy animates the whole Continent against us; and our civil laws have sustained an outrage calculated to leave an indelible stain on the nation.

"Do our Ministers flatter themselves that the destruction of our rival is a sufficient answer to every charge? But how are we so deeply interested in her destruction? In sound policy, is not her existence necessary to our glory and stability? For I am one of those who fear our own excesses, should we remain uncontrolled in the midst of prosperity. But what do I say? This very rival may be essentially necessary to us, either as an ally or counterpoise. It would be the height of folly to imagine, that, the great struggle being over, the Continental States will not again give way to their natural jealousy of our maritime power, so prejudicial to their interests. In sincerely uniting themselves to us, they merely warded off the most pressing danger. New disputes and difficulties must infallibly arise; and if that system of universal monarchy, which has so often endangered us, and which we overturned when it extended from the south towards the

north, should menace us again, by coming from the north towards the south, where would be our resource? How blind, then, is our policy, to annihilate France, by imposing on her a government that our armies are obliged to defend and preserve! Above all, why have we drawn the personal animosity of its immense population on ourselves? If the weakening, or even destruction, of France was our real interest, it ought to have been effected; though justice might have censured the step, policy would have excused it; but it should have been frankly avowed: nations as well as individuals know how to submit to necessity. When the vanquished are plainly told that the rights of victory are exercised over them, their pride is soothed by reflecting on the vicissitudes of fortune; but their hearts are filled with bitterness and rage if they are plundered under the mask of hypocrisy and bad faith: this is to add outrage to violence. Why, therefore, say, that you only seek the happiness of France, while you load her with contributions? Why pretend to have no other object in view but her deliverance from tyranny, and yet inflict intolerable sufferings on her? Why profess to have only made war against a single man, and yet trample on a whole nation? Why seize her fortresses, and strip her of the trophies of her victories? not because she had been vanquished in her turn, which would have been natural and just;

but under the pretence that these possessions were only the result of robbery and plunder? Why so much contradiction between words and actions? Because the real object of these proceedings is one which those who aim at it dare not avow—because the doctrine which guides them is too unpopular to be acknowledged—because they endeavour to serve a party in Europe rather than eternal principles. Far be it from me to make any personal application: I wish to avoid passion and prejudice: I consider no other interest at this moment but that of my country. May our Ministers entertain the same sentiments! But how came they to place England amongst, or at the head of Powers who have shamelessly, and in the face of Europe, violated the sacred rights of national independence? How could they dare to sanction such doctrines? In their stay at the Congress of Vienna, did they intoxicate themselves over the cup of the old Continental doctrines? or did the arrival of the sovereigns in this country inoculate them with sentiments of absolute power; destroying the national maxim of the people's rights? What can have led them to overturn the solemn choice of a Nation?

"Napoleon on his return had consecrated the very same public institutions and fundamental laws which we ourselves boast; all his strength and popularity arose from these acts; had he afterwards infringed on them, both would have

been lost: he was too wise and too strong to be suspected of such a design. The institutions of both nations would, therefore, have corresponded with each other, in spite of all obstacles. Perhaps this might have been the prelude to a new and unknown system; when the people of two countries which had till now only felt repugnance and hatred against each other, might have thenceforth formed a natural union, with common and inseparable interests. Instead of this, narrow and unjust views have thrown us into a position altogether forced and unnatural: Great Britain appears to stand in direct opposition to its manners, religion, constitution, and laws. We, a free people, impose chains on our neighbours! We, a sovereign people, must destroy the sovereignty of the people next us!—We, the guardians of liberal ideas, employ our armies to extinguish those very ideas!—We, the protectors and head of the protestant faith, permit the massacre of our brethren in France, and in sight of our national banners! Let not Ministers take credit to themselves for maintaining by this system a large army on the Continent, which will cost us nothing. I dread such an advantage much more than some reverses. In a foreign land, our soldiers will become foreigners; they will at last have no other country than the field of battle; the manners and maxims of our youth will become corrupted amidst the maxims and manners of

of other nations. If Ministers, the guardians of our Constitution, had inherited the spirit of our forefathers, instead of thinking it important to preserve a large army, they would rather have been eager to reduce it. Will Ministers justify themselves on the plea that the Allies wished, once for all, utterly to destroy the revolutionary principle? But the Revolution had ended, and has been recommenced by the Allies themselves.

"The sovereigns, by insisting on prerogatives, and favouring the aristocratical faction to excess, have again awakened the jealousy and roused the passions of the people. Europe will soon be divided throughout, into the two extreme parties of Marius and Sylla. The cause of kings and their courts had been gained; they have hazarded it once more. Whither may not this lead us! There is no nation in Europe that suffers so much from the French Revolution, as France: will that unhappy country be destined to become a spectacle of the contrary excesses? I must notice a vulgar error, propagated by our late measures: the very man who is now charged with all the crimes of the Revolution, is he who miraculously stopped it in its course, with the energy and force of an athletic champion stopping a chariot in the midst of its rapid career. It was he who replaced France in the European community; who re-established the manners, principles, and language of modern civilization;

it was he who removed the stains of that very Revolution, by actions the most brilliant and glorious. On entering France, the Allies could not help doing homage to his monuments, institutions, and administration—an administration the most vigorous and enlightened hitherto known. What would have become of the sovereigns of Vienna and Berlin, if, on entering their capitals, he had revolutionized their subjects. It is well known that he rather kept down the germs of commotion found in these States; so much so indeed, that the revolutionists of the day considered him as an apostate from the Revolution. How does it happen, that circumstances and our injudicious conduct, now point him out as its martyr and Messiah to these very people? It was proper to make war against him while he was formidable to us; but we should have coalesced with his genius the moment our first object was attained. Let Ministers, therefore, no longer attempt to justify their conduct and measures, by telling us they were implicitly prescribed by the grand principle of legitimacy: what can they possibly mean by that?

"Is it the absolute prohibition of every new dynasty whatever? Can there be men ignorant of the fact, that this principle, however true in theory, is only decided by facts in the political world? Do they not know that crowns are in the hands of God, and in the winning of battles? If that of Waterloo had taken a different turn, what would have be-

come of this famous principle? Would they have refused to treat *sine qua non;* and do they really and sincerely expect to make us believe that Europe could no longer exist, were a new dynasty to appear? Dare they maintain that the welfare of nations depends upon a religious belief that the favour of Heaven has been entirely exhausted on the reigning families of the present day? But how long has this been the creed of our Ministers? How is it that they have become so difficult and scrupulous on this principle? Have their various communications and secret understandings with Vienna not only established a coalition of kings, but also a coalition of doctrines and Ministers; a conspiracy against fortune, and the irresistible force of events? We must then have been much less scrupulous when we acknowledged the First Consul, and received his Ambassadors; or when, at a later period, and while at war with him, we recognised him as head of the French Government; when we sent Lord Lauderdale to Paris for the purpose of treating with the Emperor of the French; when these very Ministers treated on the same footing at Chatillon, and, perhaps, even signed articles. If these had been ratified, what would then have become of the sanctity of the new principle? Why are they at this moment so indifferent to the events of Spain, where a son has dethroned his father? How do they happen to be the allies of Sweden, whence the legitimate Sovereign has

been exiled, to call in a foreigner? But, what is still more extraordinary, how durst they adopt this new doctrine, without thinking of the family which governs us, of the glorious revolution which placed it upon the throne, of the excellent laws by which its sway has been distinguished, and which have ruled us with so much glory to the present time?

"But enough has been said of the errors of our Ministers abroad. I turn to an act of their domestic policy, which outrages our laws, and wounds our honour: I allude to the transportation of Napoleon. This noble adversary, by an act of magnanimity worthy of his life, disdaining to address himself to the Emperor of Russia, who had called himself his friend; disdaining to apply to the Emperor of Austria, whose son-in-law he was—selected an asylum in our island, in the bosom of a nation against which he had fought for twenty years: because, persecuted by all the sovereigns of Europe, he still wished, in all his misfortunes, to preserve his independence, and thought to find it in the stability and empire of our laws. What nobler triumph could England have—what greater homage could be paid to our institutions? Our Ministers laid a snare for him; they encouraged his sentiments; and when he placed himself in their power, they loaded him with chains: for it is a fact which no person can deny, that Napoleon came on board the Bellerophon freely and of his own accord. He was told that orders had been

given to the Captain to receive and conduct him to England; these assurances were taken by him as an engagement of hospitality: his letter to the Prince Regent is a proof of this, and that engagement ought to have been valid for him, when the letter, which was communicated before he himself appeared, passed without any observation being made on it. It is in vain for Ministers to answer that they were forced to deliver him up to the ostracism of Kings; and that they had engaged to do so. Their answer leaves them in the following shameful dilemma:—either they made that engagement before his arrival, and by enticing him forfeited their honour; or, it was made after his coming, and therefore they betrayed their duty, in subjecting our laws and our dignity to foreign councils. I demand, therefore, that Napoleon be brought back, and that he be landed in this country, which he had chosen as an asylum. I demand this as a solemn reparation for the outrage offered to our laws, which, by this triumph, will become more renowned from their momentary violation."

The Emperor's mode of living on board the Northumberland.

11th—14th. Our course was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light; and the heat excessive: nothing could be more monotonous than the time we now passed. The Emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours; we took our breakfast at ten o'clock, in the French

style, while the English continued to breakfast in their own way at eight.

The Emperor sent for one of us every morning to know what was going on, the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with our progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the general cabin; here he played at chess with one of the party: at five o'clock the Admiral having come out of his cabin a few minutes before, announced that dinner was on the table.

It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at his dinner; here the two courses alone occupied from an hour to an hour and a half: this was to him, a most serious annoyance, though he never mentioned it; his features, gestures, and manner, always evinced perfect indifference. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference or quality of the dishes, ever met with his censure or approbation; he never expressed any wish or objection on the subject. He was attended by his two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the Admiral was in the habit of offering to help the Emperor; but the acknowledgment of Napoleon was expressed so coldly, that this practice was discontinued. The Admiral continued very attentive, but thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable; they alone attended to these matters, to which the Emperor seemed totally indifferent, neither

seeing, noticing, or seeking, any thing. He was generally silent, remaining in the midst of conversation as if totally unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, and to address a few words to those whom the Admiral occasionally asked to dinner. I was the person to whom the Emperor generally addressed his questions, in order to translate them.

I need scarcely observe that the English are accustomed to remain a long time at table after the dessert, drinking and conversing: the Emperor, already tired by the tedious dinner, could never have endured this custom, and he rose, therefore, from the first day immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went out on deck followed by the Grand Marshal and myself. This disconcerted the Admiral, who took occasion to express his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language is English, warmly replied—"Do not forget, Admiral, that "your guest is a man who has governed a large "portion of the world, and that kings once con- "tended for the honour of being admitted to "his table." "Very true," rejoined the Admiral; and this officer, who possesses good sense, a becoming pliability of manners, and sometimes much elegance, did his utmost from that moment to accommodate the Emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied

him, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he left the cabin; upon which every body rose till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour.

The Emperor remained walking on deck till dark, attended by the Grand Marshal and myself. This became a regular practice, and was seldom omitted. On returning to the after-cabin, he sat down to play *vingt-et-un* with us, and generally retired in about half an hour.

Singular good fortune of the Emperor.

15th.—We asked permission to be admitted into the Emperor's presence this morning, and all entered his cabin at the same time. He was not aware of the cause of this visit:—it was his birth-day, which seemed to have altogether escaped his recollection. We had been in the habit of seeing him on that anniversary, on a much larger stage and in the midst of his power, but never were our vows more sincere, or our hearts more full of attachment, than on the present occasion.

The days now exactly resembled each other: at night we constantly played at *vingt-et-un;* the Admiral and some of his officers being occasionally of the party. The Emperor used to retire after losing, according to custom, his ten or twelve Napoleons; this happened to him daily, because he would persist in leaving his stake on the table, until it had produced a considerable number.

To-day he had gained from eighty to a hundred. The Admiral dealt the cards: the Emperor still wished to leave his winnings, in order to see how far he could reach; but thought he could perceive it would be quite as agreeable to the Admiral if he stopped where he was. The Emperor had won sixteen times, and might have won more than sixty thousand Napoleons. While all present were expatiating on his being thus singularly favoured by fortune, an English officer observed that it was the anniversary of his birth-day.

Continuation of the voyage—Occupations—The Emperor's origin and family—Anecdotes.

16th—21st. We doubled Cape Finisterre on the 16th, passed Cape St. Vincent on the 18th, and were opposite the Straits of Gibraltar next day. Continuing our course along the coast of Africa towards Madeira, nothing worthy of remark occurred, there being a perfect uniformity in our habits and mode of passing the time; if there was any difference, it could only arise from the subject of our conversation.

The Emperor usually remained in his cabin during the whole morning: so excessive was the heat, that he only wore a very slight dress. He could not sleep, and frequently rose in the night. Reading was his chief occupation. I was sent for almost every morning, and translated from the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and such other books as were on board, whatever they con-

tained relative to St. Helena, or the countries near which we were sailing. This led to my Historical Atlas being brought under review: Napoleon had merely glanced at it on board the Bellerophon, and before that time he had but a very indistinct notion of the work. I now had the satisfaction of seeing it in the Emperor's hands for several days, and of hearing him express the warmest approbation of my labours. The quantity and arrangement of the matter seemed more particularly to please him: he had, in fact, hitherto been but little acquainted with the book. Passing over all the others, his chief attention was attracted by the geographical charts; more especially the map of the world, which seemed principally to excite his notice and applause. I did not attempt to convince him that the geography was the weakest part of the work, displaying far less labour and research than other parts: the general tables could not easily be surpassed, either as to their method, symmetry, or facility for use; while each of the genealogical tables presented a miniature history of the country they concerned, and of which they were, in all respects, both a complete analysis, and a collection of elementary materials.

The Emperor asked me whether the work had been used in all our systems of education; adding, that had it been better known to him, all the schools and lyceums should have been furnished with it. I was also asked, why I had published it

under the borrowed name of Le Sage. I replied, that a very imperfect sketch had been published in England, just after my emigration, at a time when we could not acknowledge our names without danger to our relations; "and, perhaps," said I, laughing, "I was not then cured of the prejudices of my youth: like the nobles of Bretagne, who deposited their swords with the registrar of the Civil Court, while engaged in trade, that they might not derogate from their family dignity."

As already observed, the Emperor always rose from table long before the rest of the company: the Grand Marshal and I always followed him to the quarter-deck, where I was frequently left alone with him; as General Bertrand had often to attend his wife, who suffered excessively from seasickness.

After the preliminary remarks on the weather, the ship's progress, and the winds, Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of the preceding or some other former day; and when he had taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck, he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed this habitual predilection, so that the cannon was thenceforth called the *Emperor's gun.*

It was there that Napoleon often conversed for hours together, and that I learned for the first time a part of what I am about to relate: in doing which, I wish to observe that I shall at the

same time add whatever I collected in a variety of subsequent conversations; thus, presenting at one view, all that I have heard worth noting on the subject. This is, perhaps, the proper place to repeat, once for all, that if little order or method be found in my journal, it arises from the manner in which I am pressed for time: my contemporaries expect the work, and the state of my health precludes all application; thus situated, I am fearful of not having time to finish it. Such are my excuses, unfortunately too valid:—such are my claims to indulgence, as to the style and arrangement of my facts. What was set down at the moment, is here hastily re-produced, nearly in the same state as when first committed to paper.

The name of Bonaparte may be spelt either *Bonaparte*, or *Buonaparte;* as all Italians know. Napoleon's father always introduced the *u*; and his uncle, the Archdeacon Lucien, (who survived Napoleon's father and was a parent to Napoleon and his brothers) at the same time, and under the same roof, wrote it *Bonaparte*. During his youth Napoleon followed the example of his father. On attaining the command of the Army of Italy, he took good care not to alter the orthography, which agreed with the spirit of the language; but at a later period, and when amongst the French, he wished to adopt their orthography, and thenceforth wrote his name Bonaparte.

This family for many years made a distinguished figure in the Bolognese territory: it was very powerful at Trevisa; and is to be found inscribed on the golden book of Bologna, as also amongst the patricians of Florence.

When Napoleon, as General-in-chief of the army of Italy, entered Trevisa, at the head of his victorious army, the principal inhabitants came to meet him, bringing title-deeds and records, which proved that his family had once been one of the most eminent in their city.

At the interview of Dresden, before the Russian campaign, the Emperor Francis one day told Napoleon, then his son-in-law, that his family had governed as sovereigns at Trevisa: a fact of which there could be no doubt, as Francis had caused all the documents proving it to be drawn up and presented to him. Napoleon replied with a smile, that he did not wish to know any thing about it, and that he would greatly prefer being the Rodolph of Hapsburg, of the Austrian family. Francis attached much more importance to the matter: he said, that it was of very little consequence to have fallen from wealth to poverty; but that it was above all price to have been a sovereign, and that the fact must be communicated to Maria Louisa, to whom it would afford infinite pleasure.

When, during the campaign of Italy, Napoleon entered Bologna, Marescalchi, Caprara, and Aldini,

since so well known in France, and at that time deputies in the senate of their native city, came of their own accord to present the golden book, in which the name and arms of his ancestors were inscribed.

There are several houses at Florence which attest the former existence of the Bonaparte family there; many houses are even still seen bearing the escutcheons of the family.

Cesari, a Corsican or Bolognese, residing in London, who was shocked at the manner in which the British Government had received Napoleon's pacific letter on assuming the Consulate, published a genealogical notice, wherein he established the Emperor's alliance with the ancient house of *Este*, *Welf*, or *Guelf*, supposed to be the parent stem of the present royal family of England.*

* This paragraph was in such a state in the manuscript, as to excite doubts; and I was on the point of suppressing it: I must, therefore, state my reasons for its insertion. What is my object? chiefly to leave materials behind me. When I indicate how these were collected, and say that I obtained them from a mere conversation—that I may have disfigured them in thus suddenly seizing their sense—when I admit their probable inaccuracy, and place the reader in the way of rectifying my errors—have I not sufficiently fulfilled my object and duty? Besides, I am at this moment endeavouring to verify many of these points, and if the results reach me in time, they will be found at the end of the work, under the head of errata, or in the form of an Appendix.

The Duke de Feltre, French ambassador in Tuscany, brought the portrait of a Bonaparte who had married a princess of the Grand Duke's family. The mother of Pope Nicholas V. or Paul V. of Sarzana, was also a Bonaparte.

It was a Bonaparte who negotiated the treaty by which Leghorn was exchanged for Sarzana. It is to a Bonaparte that we are indebted for one of the oldest comedies written at the period of the revival of letters, intitled *The Widow.* It may still be seen in the Royal Library at Paris.*

When Napoleon marched against Rome at the head of the French army, and received the propositions of the Pope at Tolentino, one of the negotiators of the enemy observed, that he was the only Frenchman who had marched against Rome, since the Constable de Bourbon; but what rendered this circumstance still more singular, was, that the history of the first expedition was written by an ancestor of him who executed the second, that is to say, Monsignor Nicolas Bonaparte, who has in reality left us a work, called *The sacking of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon.*†

* Verified at the Royal Library: the manuscript being really there, and the play itself printed.

† Also verified at the Royal Library, where the account of the sacking of Rome is deposited, but by *James Buonaparte*, and not *Nicholas.* James was a contemporary and an ocular witness of the event: his manuscript was printed for the first time at Cologne, in 1756; and the volume actually contains a genealogy

Hence, perhaps, or from the Pope mentioned above, the name of Nicolas, which the writer of certain pamphlets pretended to be that of the Emperor, instead of Napoleon. This work is to be found in most libraries; it is preceded by a history of the house of Bonaparte, printed about forty or fifty years ago, and edited by Dr. Vaccha, a professor of Pisa.

M. de Cetto, ambassador of Bavaria, has often told me that the archives of Munich contained a great number of documents, in Italian, which proved the antiquity and importance of the Bonaparte family.

During the continuance of his power, Napoleon always refused to take any pains, or even enter into conversation on the subject. The first attempt to excite his attention to this matter occurred in the time of his Consulate, and was

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of the Bonapartes, which is carried back to a very remote period, and describes them as one of the most illustrious houses of Tuscany.

The above genealogy presents a fact which is certainly of a very singular nature: it is that of the first Bonaparte having been exiled from his country as a *Ghibeline*. Was it, then, the destiny of this family, in all times, and at every epoch, that it must yield to the malignant influence of the *Guelfs!*

The Cologne editor sometimes writes *Buonaparte*, and at others, *Bonaparte*.

This Monsignor Nicolas Buonaparte, named in the text as the historian, is only the uncle; he is, however, mentioned in the genealogy as a very distinguished man of learning, and as having founded the class of jurisprudence in the University of Pisa.

so much discouraged, that no one ever attempted to renew the discussion. Some one published a genealogy, in which it was contrived to connect the family of Napoleon with certain northern kings. Napoleon caused this specimen of flattery to be ridiculed in the public papers, in which the writers concluded by observing, that the nobility of the First Consul only dated from *Montenotte*, or from the 18th of Brumaire.

This family suffered, like many others, from the numerous revolutions which desolated the cities of Italy. The troubles of Florence placed the Bonapartes amongst the *fuorusciti*, or emigrants. One of the family retired to Sarzana in the first instance, and thence went to Corsica, from which island his descendants always continued to send their children to Tuscany, where they were educated under the care of the branch that remained at San Miniato. The second sons of this branch had borne the name of Napoleon for several generations, which was derived from an ancestor thus named, celebrated in the annals of Italy.

When on his way to Florence, after the expedition to Leghorn, Napoleon slept at the house of an old Abbé Buonaparte, at San Miniato, who treated the whole of his staff with great magnificence. Having exhausted all the family reminiscences, the Abbé told the young General that he was going to bring forth the most precious

document of all. Napoleon thought he was about to show him a fine genealogical tree, well calculated to gratify his vanity, (said he, laughing); but it was a memorial regularly drawn up in favour of father Buonaventura Buonaparte, a Capuchin friar of Bologna, long since beatified, but who had not yet been canonized, owing to the enormous expense it required. "The Pope will not refuse you," said the good Abbé, "if you ask him; and should it be necessary to pay the sum now, it will be a mere trifle for you." Napoleon laughed heartily at this simplicity, so little in harmony with the manners of the day: the old man never dreamt that the saints were no longer in fashion.

On reaching Florence, Napoleon conceived it would be very satisfactory to his namesake to send him the ribbon of the order of St. Stephen, of which he was merely a knight; but the pious Abbé was much less anxious about the favours of this world, than the religious justice which he so pertinaciously claimed; and, as it afterwards appeared, not without reason. The Pope, when he came to Paris to crown the Emperor, also recurred to the claims of Father Buonaventura. "It was doubtless he," said the Pope, "who, from his seat amongst the blessed, had led his relative, as it were, by the hand through the glorious earthly career he had traversed; and who had preserved Napoleon in the midst of so many dangers and battles. The Emperor, however, always turned

a deaf ear to these remarks; leaving it to the holy father's own discretion to provide for the glory of Buonaventura. As to the old Abbé of San Miniato, he left his fortune to Napoleon, who presented it to one of the public establishments in Tuscany.

It would, however, be very difficult to connect any genealogical data in this place, from the conversations of the Emperor; who used often to say, he had never looked at one of his parchments: these having always remained in the hands of his brother Joseph, whom he styled the "genealogist of the family." And, lest I may forget it, I will here mention the fact of Napoleon's having, when on the point of embarking, delivered a packet to his brother, containing all the original letters addressed to him by the sovereigns of Europe in their own handwriting. I frequently expressed my regret to the Emperor at his parting with such a precious historical manuscript.*

* On my return to Europe, I did not fail to inquire for the invaluable deposit, and hastened to suggest the importance of making another copy to Prince Joseph, in order to become still more sure of its existence. What was my grief to hear, that this historical monument had been mislaid, and that no person knew what had become of it! Into whose hands can it have fallen? May they know how to appreciate such a collection, and preserve it for history!

Charles Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon, was extremely tall, handsome, and well-made; his education had been well conducted at Rome and Pisa, where he studied the law: he is said to have possessed great spirit and energy. It was he who, on its being proposed to submit to France, in the public assembly of Corsica, delivered a speech which electrified the whole country: he was not more than twenty years of age at this period. "If it only depended on the will to become free," said he, "all nations would be so; yet history teaches us, that very few have attained the blessings of liberty, because few have had energy, courage, and virtue enough to deserve them."

When the island was conquered, he wished to accompany Paoli in his emigration; but an old uncle, the Archdeacon Lucien, who exercised the authority of a parent over him, prevented his departure.

In 1779, Charles Bonaparte was elected deputy to represent the nobles of Corsica at Paris, where he brought young Napoleon with him, then only ten years old. He passed through Florence on his way, and obtained a letter of introduction from the Grand Duke Leopold, to his sister the Queen of France. It was to his known rank and the respectability of his name and family in Tuscany, that he was indebted for this mark of attention.

There were two French generals in Corsica, at the above period, so inimical to each other that their quarrels formed two parties: one was M. de Marbeuf, a mild and popular character, and the other, M. de Narbonne Pellet, distinguished for haughtiness and violence. The latter, from his birth and superior interest, must have been a dangerous man for his rival: fortunately for M. de Marbeuf, he was much more beloved in the island. When the deputation headed by Charles Bonaparte arrived at Versailles, he was consulted on the dispute, and the warmth of his testimony obtained a triumph for Marbeuf. The Archbishop of Lyons, nephew to Marbeuf, thought it his duty to wait on the deputy, and thank him for the service he had rendered. On young Napoleon's being placed in the military school of Brienne, the Archbishop gave him a special recommendation to the family of Brienne, which lived there during the greater part of the year: hence the friendly demeanour of the Marbeufs and Briennes towards the children of the Bonaparte family. Calumny has assigned another cause, but the simple examination of dates is fully sufficient to prove its absurdity.

Old M. de Marbeuf, who commanded in Corsica, lived at Ajaccio, where the family of Charles Bonaparte was one of the principal. Madame Bonaparte being the most fascinating and beautiful woman in the town, it was very natural for

the General to frequent her house in preference to many other places of resort.

Charles Bonaparte died at the age of thirty-eight, of an induration in the glands of the stomach. He had experienced a temporary cure during one of his visits to Paris; but became the victim of a second attack at Montpellier, where he was interred in one of the convents of the city.

During the Consulate the notables of Montpellier, through the medium of their compatriot Chaptal, minister of the interior, solicited the permission of the First Consul to erect a monument to the memory of his father. Napoleon thanked them for their good intentions, but declined acceding to their solicitation. "Let us not "disturb the repose of the dead," said he; "let "their ashes remain in peace. I have also lost "my grandfather and great-grandfather; why "not erect monuments to them? It is going too "far back. Had my father died yesterday, it "would be proper and natural that my grief "should be accompanied by some signal mark of "respect. But his death took place twenty years "ago: it is an event of no public interest, and it "is useless to revive the recollection of it." At a subsequent period Louis Bonaparte, without the knowledge of Napoleon, had his father's remains disinterred, and removed to Saint Leu, where he erected a monument to his memory.

Charles Bonaparte had been the very reverse of

devout; he had even written some anti-religious poems; and yet at the period of his death, said the Emperor, there were not priests enough for him in Montpellier. In this respect he was very different from his brother Archdeacon Lucien, a very pious and orthodox ecclesiastic, who died long after him, at a very advanced age. On his death-bed, he took great umbrage at Fesch, who, being by this time a priest, ran to him in his stole and surplice to assist him in his last moments. Lucien begged that he would suffer him to die in peace, and he breathed his last surrounded by the members of his family, giving them philosophic counsel and patriarchal benedictions.

The Emperor frequently spoke of his old uncle, who had been a second father to him, and who was for a length of time the head of the family. He was Archdeacon of Ajaccio, one of the principal dignities of the island. His prudence and economy re-established the affairs of the family, which had been much deranged by the extravagance of Charles. The old uncle was much revered, and enjoyed considerable authority in the district: the peasantry voluntarily submitted their disputes to his decision, and he freely gave them his advice and his blessing.

Charles Bonaparte married Mademoiselle Letitia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the

Genoese usually maintained in the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of this second marriage, and was consequently step-brother to Madame and uncle to the Emperor.

Madame was one of the most beautiful women of her day, and she was celebrated throughout Corsica. Paoli, in the time of his power, having received an embassy from Algiers or Tunis, wished to give the savage envoys some notion of the attractions of the island, and for this purpose he assembled together all the most beautiful women in Corsica, among whom Madame took the lead. Subsequently, when she travelled to Brienne to see her son, her personal charms were remarked even in Paris.

During the war for Corsican liberty, Madame Bonaparte shared the dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horseback, while she was pregnant with Napoleon. She was a woman of extraordinary vigour of mind, joined to considerable pride and loftiness of spirit. She was the mother of thirteen children, and she might have had many more, for she was a widow at the age of thirty. Of these thirteen children only five boys and three girls lived, all of whom played distinguished parts in the reign of Napoleon.

Joseph, the eldest of the family, was originally intended for the church, on account of the influ-

ence possessed by Marbeuf, archbishop of Lyons, who had the patronage of numerous livings. He went through the regular course of study; but when the moment arrived for taking orders, he refused to enter the ecclesiastical profession. He was successively King of Naples and Spain.

Louis was King of Holland, and Jerome King of Westphalia. Eliza was Grand Duchess of Tuscany; Caroline, Queen of Naples; and Pauline, Princess Borghese. Lucien, who through his marriage, and a mistaken direction of character, doubtless forfeited a crown, atoned for all his past errors, by throwing himself into the arms of the Emperor on his return from Elba, at a moment when Napoleon was far from relying on the certainty of his prospects. Lucien, the Emperor used to say, passed a turbulent career in his youth: at the age of fifteen he was taken to France by M. Semonville, who soon made him a zealous revolutionist and an ardent clubist. On this subject the Emperor said, that in the numerous libels published against him were some addresses or letters bearing, among other signatures, that of Brutus Bonaparte, which were attributed to him, Napoleon; he would not affirm, he added, that these addresses were not written by some individual of the family, but he could declare that they were not his production.

I had the opportunity of rendering myself acquainted with the sentiments of Prince Lucien,

on the Emperor's return from Elba, and am enabled to say, that it would have been difficult for any man to have been more upright and steady in his political views, or to have evinced greater devotedness and good will towards his brother.

Madeira, &c.—Violent Gale.—Chess.

22d—26th. On the 22d we came within sight of Madeira, and at night arrived off the port. Only two of the vessels cast anchor, to take on board supplies for the squadron. The wind blew very hard, and the sea was exceedingly rough. The Emperor found himself indisposed, and I was also ill. A sudden gale arose; the air was excessively hot, and seemed to be impregnated with small particles of sand—we were now assailed by the emanations of the terrible winds from the deserts of Africa. This weather lasted throughout the whole of the following day. Our communication with the shore became extremely difficult. The English Consul came on board, and informed us that for many years there had not been such a hurricane at Madeira; the vintage was entirely destroyed, all the windows in the town were broken, and it had been found scarcely possible to breathe in the streets. All this time we continued tacking about before the town; which we continued to do throughout the whole of the following night, and the 24th, when we took on board several oxen, and stores of

other provisions, such as unripe oranges, bad peaches, and tasteless pears; the figs and grapes were however excellent. In the evening we made way with great rapidity; the wind still blowing hard. On the 25th and 26th we lay-to during a portion of each day, to distribute provisions among the vessels composing the squadron; during the rest of the time, we sailed on smoothly and rapidly.

Meanwhile nothing occurred to interrupt the uniformity of the scene. Each day crept slowly on, and added to the past interval, which, as a whole, seemed brief because it was void of interest, and not characterized by any remarkable incident.

The Emperor had added to the number of his amusements by a game at piquet, which he regularly played about three o'clock. This was succeeded by a few games at chess with the Grand Marshal, M. de Montholon, or some other individual, until dinner-time. There was no very good chess-player on board the vessel. The Emperor was but an indifferent player; he gained with some and lost with others, a circumstance which one evening led him to say, "How "happens it that I frequently lose with those "who are never able to beat him whom I "almost always beat? Does not this seem con- "tradictory? How is this problem to be solved?" said he, winking his eye, to shew that he was

not the dupe of the constant politeness of him who was really the best player.

We no longer played at *Vingt-et-un* in the evening: we gave up this game on account of our having played too high, at which the Emperor appeared displeased, for he was a great enemy to gaming. On returning from his afternoon walk on the deck, Napoleon played two or three games at chess, and retired to rest early.

The Canaries.—Passing the Tropic.—Details of the Emperor's childhood.—Napoleon at Brienne.—Pichegru.—Napoleon at the Military School in Paris.—In the Artillery.—His companions.—Napoleon at the commencement of the Revolution.

27th—31st. At daybreak on Sunday, 27th, we found ourselves among the Canaries, which we passed in the course of the day, sailing at the rate of ten or twelve knots an hour, without having perceived the famous Peak of Teneriffe—a circumstance the more extraordinary, since in clear weather it is visible at the distance of sixty leagues.

On the 29th we crossed the tropic, and observed many flying fish round the ship. On the 31st, at eleven at night, one of the sailors threw himself overboard: he was a negro, who had got drunk, and was fearful of the flogging that awaited him. He had several times, in the course of the evening, attempted to jump overboard, and

at last succeeded. He, however, soon repented, and uttered loud cries. He swam very well; but though a boat was immediately sent off, and every endeavour used to rescue him, he was lost.

The cries of this man in the sea excited a powerful sensation on board the vessel. In a moment the crew were hurrying about in every direction; the noise was very great, and the agitation universal.

As I was descending from deck to the cabin, a midshipman, an interesting youth between ten and twelve years of age, thinking I was going to inform the Emperor of what had occurred, seized hold of my coat, and in a tone expressive of the tenderest interest exclaimed, "Ah, Sir, do not alarm the Emperor! Tell him the noise is nothing at all; that it is only a man fallen overboard." Amiable and innocent youth! he expressed his sentiments rather than his thoughts!

In general the midshipmen, of whom there were several on board the ship, behaved with marked respect and attention to the Emperor. They every evening repeated a scene that made a deep impression on our feelings. Early in the morning the sailors carried up their hammocks, and put them in the large nettings at the sides of the ship; and about six in the evening they carried them away at the signal of a whistle. Those who were tardy in the performance of this duty, received a certain punishment. On the signal

being given a great bustle ensued; and it was gratifying to see the midshipmen at this moment form a circle round the Emperor, whether he might be standing in the middle of the deck or resting on his favourite gun. They watched his motions with an anxious eye, and either by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. The Emperor frequently observed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm.

I will now proceed with the details, which I collected at various times, respecting the early years of the Emperor's life.

Napoleon was born about noon on the 15th of August (the Assumption-Day) in the year 1769. His mother, who was possessed of great bodily as well as mental vigour, and who had braved the dangers of war during her pregnancy, wished to attend mass on account of the solemnity of the day; she was, however, taken ill at church, and on her return home was delivered before she could be conveyed to her chamber. The child as soon as it was born was laid on the carpet, which was an old-fashioned one, representing at full length the heroes of fable, or, perhaps, of the Iliad :—this child was Napoleon.

In his boyhood Napoleon was turbulent, adroit, lively and agile in the extreme. He had gained, he used to say, the most complete ascendancy over his elder brother Joseph. The

latter was beaten and ill-treated; complaints were carried to the mother, and she would begin to scold before poor Joseph had even time to open his mouth.

At the age of ten, Napoleon was sent to the military school at Brienne. His name, which in his Corsican accent he pronounced as if written Napoïlloné, from the similarity of the sound, procured for him, among his youthful companions, the nick-name of *la paille au nez* (straw in his nose.) At this period a great change took place in Napoleon's character. In contradiction to all the apochryphal histories, which contain anecdotes of his life, he was when at Brienne mild, quiet, and susceptible. One day the quarter-master, who was a man of harsh disposition, and who never took the trouble of considering the physical and moral shades of character in each individual scholar, condemned Napoleon, by way of punishment, to wear the serge coat, and to take his dinner on his knees at the door of the refectory. Napoleon, who had a vast share of pride and self-conceit, was so mortified by this disgrace, that he was seized with a violent retching, and suffered a severe nervous attack. The head master of the school happening accidentally to pass by, relieved him from the punishment, reproving the quarter-master for his want of discernment; and Father Patrault, the professor of mathematics, was very indignant on finding that

his first mathematician had been treated with so little respect.

* "On attaining the age of puberty, Napoleon's temper became morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess; and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way. Pichegru was at this time his quarter-master and his tutor in the four rules of arithmetic.

"Pichegru was a native of the Franche-Comté, where his family were farmers. The Minime monks of Champagne were appointed to superintend the military school of Brienne. Owing to their poverty, however, so few individuals were induced to enter their order, that they found themselves inadequate to the task imposed on them; and they solicited the assistance of the Minime monks of the Franche-Comté, of whom Father Patrault was one. An aunt of Pichegru, a nun of La Charité, followed Patrault, for the purpose of superintending the infirmary, and she was accompanied by her nephew, a youth who was admitted to the school to receive his education gratuitously. Pichegru, who was extremely clever, was, on his attaining a suitable age, made quarter-master and tutor under Father Patrault, who had taught him

* These lines were dictated by the Emperor himself;—how and when will be hereafter explained.

mathematics. He intended to become a monk, which was the sole object of his ambition and of his aunt's wishes. But Father Patrault dissuaded him from this idea, assuring him that the profession was not suited to the age; and that he should look forward to something better: he prevailed on him to enlist in the artillery, where the Revolution found him a sub-officer. His military career is known:—he was the conqueror of Holland. Thus Father Patrault had the honour of counting among his pupils the two greatest general of modern France.

"Father Patrault was subsequently secularized by M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, and Cardinal de Lomenie, who made him one of his grand vicars, and intrusted him with the management of his numerous benefices.

"At the time of the Revolution, Father Patrault, though his opinions were widely opposite to those of his patron, nevertheless exerted every endeavour to save him, and with this view applied to Danton, who was a native of the same part of France to which the Cardinal and himself belonged. But all was unavailing; and it is supposed that Patrault, after the manner of the ancients, rendered to the Cardinal the service of procuring for him a poisoned draught to save him from the scaffold.

"Madame de Lomenie, the Cardinal's niece, before her life was sacrificed by the revolutionary

tribunal, intrusted Father Patrault with the care of her two daughters, who were yet in their childhood. The moment of terror having passed away, their aunt Madame de Brienne, who had escaped the storm and preserved a considerable portion of her fortune, applied to Father Patrault for the children; but he refused to give them up, on the ground that their mother had directed him to withdraw them from the world, and to devote them to the occupation of peasants. He had conceived the design of literally executing these figurative commands, and was on the point of uniting them to two of his own nephews. 'I was then,' said Napoleon, 'General of the Army of the Interior, and I became the mediator for the restoration of the two children, an object which was accomplished not without difficulty. Patrault employed every possible means of resistance. These daughters of Madame de Lomenie were the two ladies whom you have since known by the names of Madame de Marnesia, and the beautiful Madame de Canisy, Duchess de Vicenza.'

"Father Patrault having renewed his acquaintance with his old pupil, followed him and joined the Army of Italy, where he proved himself better able to calculate projectiles, than to meet their effects. At Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, he evinced the most puerile cowardice. He did not, like Moses, fall to praying when he

ought to have been fighting; but he passed his time in weeping. The General-in-chief appointed him administrator of domains at Milan, from which he derived considerable profits. On Napoleon's return from Egypt, he presented himself to him: he was no longer the little Minime monk of Champagne, but a corpulent financier, possessed of upwards of a million. Two years afterwards he again sought an interview with the First Consul at Malmaison: he now looked mean, dejected, and shabbily dressed. 'How is this?' inquired the Consul. 'You see before you a ruined man,' replied Patrault; 'one who is reduced to beggary; the victim of severe misfortune.' The First Consul determined to investigate the truth of this statement: he discovered that Father Patrault had commenced the trade of an usurer. The great calculator had lost his fortune through bankruptcies, in lending at great risk for a high interest. 'I have already paid my debt,' said the First Consul, at his next interview with him; 'I can do no more for you: I cannot make a man's fortune twice.' He contented himself with granting Patrault a pension sufficient for his subsistence.

"Napoleon retained but a faint idea of Pichegru; he remembered that he was a tall man, rather red in the face. Pichegru, on the contrary, seems to have preserved a striking recollection of young Napoleon. When Pichegru

joined the royalist party, he was asked whether it would not be possible to gain over the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. 'To attempt that would only be wasting time,' said he: 'from my knowledge of him when a boy I am sure he must be a most inflexible character: he has taken his resolutions, and he will not change them.'"

The Emperor has often been much amused at the tales and anecdotes that are related of his boyhood, in the numerous little publications which he had happened to peruse: he acknowledged scarcely any of them. There is one, relative to his confirmation at the miliary school of Paris, which, however, he admitted to be true. It is as follows:—the archbishop who confirmed him, manifesting his astonishment at the name of Napoleon, said he did not know of any such saint, and that there was no such name in the calendar; the boy quickly replied, that that could be no rule, since there were an immense number of saints and only 365 days.

Napoleon never observed his festival-day until after the Concordat: his patron saint was a stranger to the French calendar, and even where his name is recorded, the date of his festival is a matter of uncertainty. The Pope, however, fixed it for the 15th of August, which was at once the Emperor's birth-day, and the day of the signing of the Concordat.

*"In 1783, Napoleon was one of the scholars who, at the usual competition at Brienne, were fixed upon to be sent to the military school at Paris, to finish their education. The choice was made annually by an inspector, who visited the twelve military schools. This office was filled by the Chevalier de Keralio, a general officer, and the author of a work on military tactics. He was also the tutor of the present King of Bavaria, who in his youth bore the title of Duke de Deux-Ponts. Keralio was an amiable old man, and well adapted to discharge the duty of Inspector of the military schools. He was fond of the boys, played with them when they had finished their examinations, and permitted those who had acquitted themselves most to his satisfaction to dine with him at the table of the monks. He was particularly attached to young Napoleon, and took a pleasure in stimulating him to exertion. He singled him out to be sent to Paris, though it would appear he had not at that time attained the requisite age. The lad was not very far advanced in any branch of education except mathematics, and the monks suggested that it would be better to wait till the following year, to afford time for further improvement. But this the Chevalier de Keralio would by no means agree to: 'I know what I am about,'

* Dictated by the Emperor.

said he, 'and if I am transgressing the rules, it 'is not on account of family influence:—I know 'nothing of the friends of this youth. I am 'actuated only by my own opinion of his merit. 'I perceive in him a spark of genius which can-'not be too early fostered.' The worthy chevalier died suddenly, before he had time to carry his determination into effect; but his successor, M. de Regnaud, who would not perhaps have evinced half his penetration, nevertheless fulfilled his decision, and young Napoleon was sent to Paris."

At this period he began to develope qualities of a superior order: decision of character, profound reflection, and vigorous conceptions. It would appear, that from his earliest childhood his parents rested all their hopes on him. His father, when on his death-bed at Montpellier, though Joseph was beside him, spoke only of Napoleon, who was then at the military school. In the delirium with which he was seized in his last moments, he incessantly called Napoleon to come to his aid with his *great sword*. The grand uncle, Lucien, who on his death-bed was surrounded by all his relatives, said, addressing himself to Joseph, "You are the eldest of the family; "but there is the head of it, (pointing to Napo-"leon). Never lose sight of him." The Emperor used to laugh and say, "This was a true

" disinheritance: it was the scene of Jacob and " Esau."

Having myself been educated at the military school of Paris, though at an earlier period than that at which Napoleon attended it, I was enabled on returning from my emigration, to converse about the Emperor with the masters who had been common to us both.

M. de l'Eguille, our teacher of history, used to boast that the records of the military school contained proofs of his having foretold the great career which his pupil was destined to fill; and that he had frequently, in his notes, eulogized the depth of his reflection, and the shrewdness of his judgment. He informed me that the First Consul used often to invite him to breakfast at Malmaison, and that he always took pleasure in conversing about his old lessons:—" That which " made the deepest impression on me," said he, one day to M. de l'Eguille, " was the revolt of " the Constable de Bourbon, though you did " not present it to us precisely in its proper " light. You made it appear that his great crime " was his having fought against his king; which " certainly was but a trifling fault, in those days " of divided nobility and sovereignty; particu- " larly considering the scandalous injustice of " which he was the victim. His great, his real, " his only crime, and that on which you did not

" sufficiently dwell, was his having come with " foreigners to attack his native soil."

M. Domairon, our professor of belles-lettres, informed me that he had always been struck with the singularity of Napoleon's amplifications, which he said were like flaming granites poured from a volcano.

Only one individual formed a mistaken idea of him; that was M. Bauer, the dull heavy German master. Young Napoleon never made much advancement in the German language, which offended M. Bauer, and he in consequence formed a most contemptible opinion of his pupil's abilities. One day Napoleon not being in his place, M. Bauer inquired where he was, and was told that he was attending his examination in the class of artillery. "Oh! so he does learn something?" said M. Bauer ironically. "Why, Sir, he is the best mathematician in the school," was the reply. "Ah! I have always heard it remarked, and I have always believed, that none but a fool could learn mathematics." "It would be curious," said the Emperor, "to know whether M. Bauer lived long enough to ascertain my real character, and to enjoy the confirmation of his own judgment."

Napoleon was scarcely eighteen years of age when the Abbé Raynal, struck with the extent of his acquirements, appreciated his merit so highly as to make him one of the ornaments of his scien-

tific *déjeûners*. Finally, the celebrated Paoli, who had long inspired Napoleon with a sort of veneration, and who found that the latter had headed a party against him, whenever he showed himself favourable to the English, was accustomed to say—"This young man is formed on the ancient model. He is one of Plutarch's men."

In 1785, Napoleon, who was created at once a cadet and an officer of artillery, quitted the military school to enter the regiment of la Fère, in the rank of second-lieutenant; whence he was promoted to the rank of first-lieutenant in the regiment of Grenoble.

Napoleon on quitting the military school went to join his regiment at Valence. The first winter he spent there his comrades at the mess-table were Lariboissière, who, during the empire, was appointed inspector-general of the artillery; Sorbier, who succeeded Lariboissière in that post; d'Hedouville, junior, afterwards minister plenipotentiary at Frankfort; Mallet, the brother of him who headed the tumult in Paris in 1813; an officer named Mabille, whom, on his return from emigration, the Emperor appointed postmaster-general; Rolland de Villarceaux, afterwards prefect of Nismes; Desmazzis, senior, his companion at the military school and the friend of his early years, who, after Napoleon ascended the throne, became keeper of the Imperial wardrobe.

There were in the corps officers more or less

easy in their circumstances; Napoleon ranked among the former. He received from his family 1200 francs a-year, which was then the amount of an officer's full pay. There were two individuals in the regiment who could afford to keep cabriolets, or carriages of some kind, and they were looked upon as very great men. Sorbier was one of these two: his companions got him to drive them about, and they repaid the obligation by jokes and puns. Sorbier was the son of a physician at Moulins.

At Valence, Napoleon got an early introduction to Madame du Colombier, a lady about fifty years of age, who was endowed with many rare and estimable qualities, and who was the most distinguished person in the town. She entertained a great regard for the young artillery-officer, and through her connexion he mingled in all the best company in Valence and its neighbourhood. She introduced him to the Abbé de Saint-Rufe, a man of considerable property, who was frequently visited by the most distinguished persons in the country. Napoleon was indebted for the favour he enjoyed to his extensive information, joined to the facility and force with which he turned it to account. Madame du Colombier often foretold that he would be a distinguished man. The death of this lady happened about the time of the breaking out of the Revolution: it was an event in which she took great interest, and in her last moments was heard

to say, that if no misfortune befel young Napoleon, he would infallibly play a distinguished part in the events of the time. The Emperor never spoke of Madame du Colombier but with expressions of the tenderest gratitude; and he did not hesitate to acknowledge that the valuable introductions and superior rank in society which she procured for him had great influence over his destiny.

The gaiety which Napoleon enjoyed at this period of his life, excited great jealousy on the part of his fellow-officers. They were displeased at seeing him absent himself so frequently from among them, though his doing so could be no reasonable ground of offence to them. Fortunately the commandant, M. d'Urtubie, had formed a just estimate of his character: he shewed him great kindness, and afforded him the means of fulfilling his military duties, and at the same time of mingling in the pleasures of society.

Napoleon conceived an attachment for Mademoiselle du Colombier, who, on her part, was not insensible to his merits. It was the first love of both; and it was that kind of love which might be expected to arise at their age and with their education. "We were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the Emperor used to say; "we contrived little meetings together: I well remember one which took place on a Midsummer morning, just as daylight began to dawn. It will

scarcely be believed that all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

It has been said that the mother wished to bring about this marriage, and that the father opposed it on the ground that they would ruin each other by their union; while each was separately destined to a fortunate career. But this story is untrue, as is likewise another anecdote relative to a marriage with Mademoiselle Clary, afterwards Madame Bernadotte, now Queen of Sweden.

In 1805, the Emperor, when about to be crowned King of Italy, on passing through Lyons, again saw Mademoiselle du Colombier, who had now changed her name to Madame de Bressieux. She gained access to him with some difficulty, surrounded as he was by the etiquette of royalty. Napoleon was happy to see her again; but he found her much altered for the worse. He did for her husband what she solicited, and placed her in the situation of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

Mademoiselles de Laurencin and St. Germain were at that time the reigning toasts in Valence, where they divided the general admiration. The latter married Monsieur de Montalivet, who was also known to the Emperor at that time, and who was afterwards made Minister of the Interior. "He was an honest fellow," said Napo-

leon, " and one who, I believe, remained firmly " attached to me."

When about eighteen or twenty years of age, the Emperor was distinguished as a young man of extensive information, possessing a reflective turn of mind and strong reasoning powers. He had read an immense deal, and had profoundly meditated on the fund of knowledge thus acquired, much of which, he used to say, he had probably since lost. His sparkling and ready wit, and energetic language, distinguished him wherever he went: he was a favourite with every one, particularly with the fair sex, to whom he recommended himself by the elegance and novelty of his ideas, and the boldness of his arguments. As for the men, they were often afraid to engage with him in those discussions into which he was led by a natural confidence in his own powers.

Many individuals, who knew him at an early period of life, foresaw his extraordinary career; and they viewed the events of his life without astonishment. At an early age he gained anonymously a prize at the Academy of Lyons, on the following question, proposed by Raynal:—"*What are the principles and institutions calculated to advance mankind to the highest possible degree of happiness?*" The anonymous memorial excited great attention: it was perfectly in unison with the ideas of the age. It began by inquiring in what

happiness consisted; and the answer was, in the perfect enjoyment of life in the manner most conformable with our moral and physical organization. After he became Emperor, Napoleon was one day conversing on this subject with M. de Talleyrand: the latter, like a skilful courtier, shortly after presented to him the famous memorial, which he had procured from the archives of the Academy of Lions. The Emperor took it, and, after reading a few pages, threw into the fire this first production of his youth, saying, "One can never observe every thing." M. de Talleyrand had not had an opportunity of transcribing it.

The Prince de Condé one day communicated his intention of visiting the Artillery School at Auxonne; and the cadets considered it a high honour to be examined by that military Prince. The commandant, in spite of the hierarchy, placed young Napoleon at the head of the polygon, in preference to others of superior rank. It happened that, on the day preceding the examination, all the cannons of the polygon were spiked: but Napoleon was too much on the alert to be caught by this trick of his comrades, or it may, perhaps, be said he was too keen to suffer himself to be entrapped in the snare of the illustrious traveller.

It is generally believed that Napoleon, in his boyhood, was taciturn, sullen, and morose; on

the contrary, he was of a very lively turn. He never appeared more delighted than when relating to us the various tricks he was accustomed to play when at the School of Artillery. In describing the joyous moments of his early youth, he seems to forget the misfortunes which hold him in captivity.

There was an old commandant, upwards of eighty years of age, for whom the cadets entertained a very high respect, notwithstanding the many jokes they played upon him. One day, while he was examining them in their cannon exercise, and watching every discharge with his eye-glass, he asserted they were far from hitting the mark, and asked those near him if they had seen the ball strike. Nobody had observed the youths slipping aside the ball every time they loaded. The old general was rather sharp; after five or six discharges, he took it into his head to count the balls. The trick was discovered. The general thought it a very good one; but nevertheless ordered all who had participated in it to be put under arrest.

The cadets would occasionally take a pique at some of their captains, or determine to revenge themselves on others to whom they owed a grudge. They then resolved to banish them from society, and to reduce them to the necessity of putting themselves under a sort of arrest. Four or five of the cadets undertook to execute the design.

They fastened on their victim; pursued him into every company, and he was not suffered to open his mouth without being methodically and logically contradicted, though always with a strict regard to politeness: at length the poor fellow found that retirement was his only alternative.

"On another occasion," Napoleon used to relate, "one of my comrades who lodged above me "unluckily took a fancy to learn to play the horn, "and made such a hideous noise as completely "disturbed the studies of those who were within "hearing. We met each other one day on the "stairs; 'Are you not tired of practising the horn?' "said I. 'Not at all,' he replied. 'At any rate, you "tire other people.' 'I am sorry for it.' 'It would "be better if you went to practise elsewhere.' 'I "am master of my own apartment.' 'Perhaps you "may be taught to entertain a doubt on that point.' "'I scarce think any one will be bold enough to "attempt to teach me that.'" A challenge ensued; but before the antagonists met, the affair was submitted to the consideration of a council of the cadets, and it was determined that the one should practise the horn at a greater distance, and that the other should be more accommodating.

In the campaign of 1814, the Emperor again met his horn-player in the neighbourhood of Soissons or Laon: he was residing on his estate, and gave some important information respecting the enemy's position. The Emperor made him

one of his aides-de-camp; this officer was Colonel Bussy.

When attached to his artillery-regiment, Napoleon seized every opportunity of mingling in company, where he invariably made an agreeable impression. Women at that time attached a high value to talent in the other sex; it was a quality which never failed to win their good graces. Napoleon at this period performed what he termed his Sentimental Journey from Valence to Mont-Cenis in Burgundy, and he intended to write an account of it after the manner of Sterne. The faithful Desmazzis was of the party: he was constantly with him, and his narrative of Napoleon's private life, if combined with the details of his public career, would form a perfect history of the Emperor. It would then be seen that, however extraordinary his life might be with respect to its incidents, yet nothing could be more simple or natural than its course.

Circumstances and reflection have considerably modified his character. Even his style of expression, now so concise and laconic, was in his youth diffuse and emphatic. At the time of the Legislative Assembly, Napoleon assumed a serious and severe demeanour, and became less communicative than before. The Army of Italy also marked another epoch in his character. His extreme youth, when he went to take the command of the army, rendered it necessary that he should

evince great reserve, and the utmost strictness of morals. "This was indispensably necessary," said he, "to enable me to command men so much "above me in point of age. I pursued a line of "conduct truly irreproachable and exemplary. I "proved myself a sort of Cato. I must have ap- "peared such in the eyes of all. I was a phi- "losopher and a sage." In this character he appeared on the theatre of the world.

Napoleon was in garrison at Valence when the Revolution broke out. At that time it was a point of particular importance to cause the artillery officers to emigrate; and the officers, on their part, were very much divided in opinion. Napoleon, who was imbued with the notions of the age, possessing a natural instinct for great actions and a passion for national glory, espoused the cause of the Revolution; and his example influenced the majority of the regiment. He was an ardent patriot under the Constituent Assembly; but the Legislative Assembly marked a new period in his ideas and opinions.

He was at Paris on the 21st of June, 1792, and witnessed the insurrection of the people of the Faubourgs, who traversed the garden of the Tuileries, and forced the palace. There were but 6000 men; a mere disorderly mob, whose language and dress proved them to belong to the very lowest class of society.

Napoleon was also a witness of the events of the

10th of August, in which the assailants were neither higher in rank nor more formidable in number.

In 1793, Napoleon was in Corsica, where he had a command in the National Guards. He opposed Paoli as soon as he was led to suspect that the veteran, to whom he had hitherto been so much attached, entertained the design of betraying the island to the English. Therefore it is not true, as has been generally reported, that Napoleon, or some of his family, were at one time in England, proposing to raise a Corsican regiment for the English service.

The English and Paoli subdued the Corsican patriots, and burnt Ajaccio. The house of the Bonapartes was destroyed in the general conflagration, and the family were obliged to fly to the Continent. They fixed their abode at Marseilles, whence Napoleon proceeded to Paris. He arrived just at the moment when the federalists of Marseilles had surrendered Toulon to the English.

Cape Verd Islands.—Napoleon at the siege of Toulon.—Rise of Duroc and Junot.—Napoleon quarrels with the Representatives of the People.—Quarrels with Aubry.—Anecdotes relative to Vindemiaire.—Napoleon General of the Army of Italy.—Integrity of his military administration.—His disinterestedness.—Nicknamed Petit-Ca-

poral.—Difference between the system of the Directory and that of the General of the Army of Italy.

September 1st—6th. On the 1st of September we found from our latitude that we should see the Cape Verd Islands in the course of the day. The sky was, however, overcast, and at night we could see nothing. The Admiral, convinced that there was a mistake in the reckoning of our longitude, was preparing to bear westward to the right, in order to fall in with the islands, when a brig, which was a-head of us, intimated by a signal that she had discovered them on the left. During the night the wind blew violently from the south-east, and if our mistake had been the reverse of what it was, and the Admiral had really borne to the right, it is not improbable that we should have been thrown out of our course; a proof that, notwithstanding the improvements in science, mistakes are very apt to take place, and that the chances of navigation are very great. As the wind continued to blow strong, and the sea was boisterous, the Admiral preferred continuing his course, rather than waiting to take in water, of which he believed he had already a sufficient store. Every thing now promised a prosperous passage; we were already very far advanced on our course. Every circumstance continued favourable; the weather was mild, and we might even have thought our voyage agreeable, had it been undertaken in the pursuit

of our own plans and in conformity with our own inclinations; but how could we forget our past misfortunes, or close our eyes on the future?——

Occupation alone could enable us to support the languor and tedium of our days. I had undertaken to teach my son English; and the Emperor, to whom I mentioned the progress he was making, expressed a wish to learn also. I endeavoured to form a very simple plan for his instruction, in order to save him trouble. This did very well for two or three days; but the *ennui* occasioned by the study was at least equal to that which it was intended to counteract, and the English was laid aside. The Emperor occasionally reproached me with having discontinued my lessons; I replied that I had the medicine ready, if he had the courage to take it. In other respects, particularly before the English, his manners and habits were always the same: never did a murmur or a wish escape his lips; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humoured.

The Admiral, who, I suppose, thought it necessary, on the strength of our reputation, to fortify himself well on our departure from England, gradually laid aside his reserve, and every day took greater interest in his captive. He represented the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening; the Emperor would then sometimes take his arm and

prolong the conversation, which never failed to gratify him exceedingly. I have been assured that the Admiral carefully noted down every particular that he could collect. If this be true, the remarks which the Emperor one day made, during dinner, on naval affairs—on the French resources in the south; those which he had already created, and those which he contemplated; and on the ports and harbours of the Mediterranean; to all of which the Admiral listened with deep attention, and as if fearful of interruption—will compose a chapter truly valuable to a seaman.

I will now return to the details collected during our ordinary conversation. The following relate to the siege of Toulon.

In September 1793, Napoleon Bonaparte, then in his twenty-fourth year, was yet unknown to the world which was destined to resound with his name. He was a lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and had been only a few weeks in Paris; having left Corsica, where political events had forced him to yield to the faction of Paoli. The English had taken possession of Toulon; an experienced artillery-officer was wanting to direct the operations of the siege, and Napoleon was fixed on. There will history take him up, never more to leave him;—there commences his immortality.

I refer to the Memoirs of the Campaign of Italy for the plan of attack which he adopted, and the manner in which that plan was carried into effect.

It will there be seen that it was he, and he alone, who took the fortress. This was a great triumph, no doubt; but to appreciate it justly, it would be necessary to compare the plan of the attack with the account of the evacuation; the one is the literal prediction, and the other is the fulfilment word for word. From this moment the young commander of artillery enjoyed the highest reputation. The Emperor never looks back to this period without pleasure, and always mentions it as the happiest portion of his life. The taking of Toulon was his first successful achievement, and it naturally excites the fondest recollections. The history of the campaign of Italy will present a faithful picture of the three generals-in-chief who succeeded each other during the siege: the inconceivable ignorance of Cartaux, the gloomy brutality of Doppet, and the honest courage of Dugommier. Of them I shall here say nothing.

At the first breaking out of the Revolution, there was nothing but disorder in the *materiel* and ignorance in the *personnel* of the French army, which was owing both to the confusion of the times and the rapidity and irregularity with which the promotions had been made. The following story will afford an idea of the state of affairs and of the manners of the time:—

On his arrival at head-quarters, Napoleon waited on General Cartaux, a haughty man, covered with gold lace from head to foot, who asked him

what duty he had been sent upon. The young officer modestly presented the letter which directed him to superintend, under the general's command, the operations of the artillery. "This was quite unnecessary," said the general, twirling his whiskers; "we want no assistance to retake Toulon: but, however, you are welcome, and you may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow, without having experienced any of the fatigue." And he made him stay to sup with him.

A party of thirty sat down to table; the general alone was served like a prince, while every one else was dying of hunger; a circumstance which, in those days of equality, strangely shocked the new guest. The next morning, at break of day, the general took him out in his cabriolet, to admire, as he said, the preparations for attack. As soon as he had crossed the height, and come within sight of the road and harbour, they got out of the carriage, and threw themselves down among some vines. The commandant of artillery then perceived some pieces of ordnance, and some digging, for which it was literally impossible for him in the slightest degree to account. "Dupas," said the general haughtily, turning to his aide-de-camp, his confidential man, "are those our "batteries?"—"Yes, general."—"And our park?" " —"There, close at hand."—" And our red-hot " balls?"—" In yonder houses, where two com-

" panies have been employed all the morning in " heating them."—" But how shall we be able " to carry these red-hot balls ?" This consideration seemed to puzzle them both completely, and they turned to the officer of artillery, and begged to know whether, through his scientific knowledge, he could not explain how the thing was to be managed. Napoleon, who would have been very much tempted to take the whole for a hoax, had his interrogators evinced less simplicity, for they were more than a league and a half from the object of attack, summoned to his aid all the gravity he was master of, and endeavoured to persuade them, before they troubled themselves about red-hot balls, to try the range of the shot with cold ones. After a great deal of trouble, he at length prevailed on them to follow his advice, but not till he had very luckily made use of the technical term *coup d'épreuve,* which took their fancy, and brought them over to his opinion. They then made the experiment, but the shot did not reach to a third of the distance required; and the general and Dupas began to abuse the Marseillais and the Aristocrats, who had, they said, maliciously spoiled the powder. In the mean time the representative of the people came up on horseback : this was Gasparin, an intelligent man, who had served in the army.— Napoleon, perceiving how things were going on, and, boldly deciding on the course he should pur-

sue, immediately assumed great confidence of manner, and urged the representative to intrust him with the whole direction of the affair. He exposed, without hesitation, the unparalleled ignorance of all who were about him, and from that moment took upon himself the entire direction of the siege.

Cartaux was a man of such limited intellect, that it was impossible to make him understand that, to facilitate the taking of Toulon, it would be necessary to make the attack at the outlet of the road. When the commandant of artillery sometimes pointed to this outlet on the map, and told him there was Toulon, Cartaux suspected he knew very little of geography; and when, in spite of his opposition, the authority of the representative decided on the adoption of this distant point of attack, the general was haunted by the idea of treasonable designs, and he would often remark with great uneasiness that Toulon did not lie in that direction.

Cartaux wanted one day to oblige the commandant to erect a battery, with the rear of the guns so close against the front of a house as to leave no room for the recoil. On another occasion, on his return from the morning parade, he sent for the commandant to tell him that he had just discovered a position, from whence a battery of from six to twelve pieces would infallibly carry Toulon in a few days: it was a little hil-

lock which would command three or four forts and several points of the town. He was enraged at the refusal of the commandant of artillery, who observed to him, that if the battery could command every point, it followed that every point would be able to bear upon it; that the twelve guns would have one hundred and fifty to oppose them; and that simple subtraction would suffice to show him his disadvantage. The commandant of the engineer department was called on for his opinion, and as he concurred without hesitation in that of the commandant of artillery, Cartaux said that it was impossible to do any thing with those learned corps, as they all went hand-in-hand. At length, to put a stop to difficulties which were continually recurring, the representative decided that Cartaux should communicate to the commandant of artillery his general plan of attack, and that the latter should execute the details, according to the rules of his department. The following was Cartaux's memorable plan:—

"The general of artillery shall batter Toulon "during three days, at the expiration of which "time I will attack it with three columns, and "carry it."

At Paris, however, the engineer committee found this hasty measure much more humorous than wise, and it was one of the causes which led to Cartaux's recall. There was indeed no want of plans; for the retaking of Toulon having been

proposed as a subject for competition in the popular societies, plans poured in from all quarters. Napoleon says he must have received at least six hundred during the siege. It was to the representative Gasparin that Napoleon was indebted for the triumph of his plan (that which gained Toulon) over the objections of the Committees of the Convention. He preserved a grateful recollection of this circumstance: it was Gasparin, he used to say, who had first opened his career.*

In all the disputes between Cartaux and the commandant of artillery, which usually took place in the presence of the general's wife, the latter uniformly took the part of the officer of artillery, saying, with great *naiveté* to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about "it than you do, for he never asks your advice; "besides, are not you the responsible person: the "glory will be yours."

This woman was not without some share of good sense. On her return to Paris, after the recall of her husband, the jacobins of Marseilles gave a splendid fête in honour of the disgraced family. In the course of the evening the con-

* The Emperor has, in his will, paid a tribute of gratitude to the representative Gasparin, for the special protection he received from him.

He has honoured with a similar tribute General Duteil, the head of his School of Artillery, and General Dugommier, for the attention and kindness he had experienced from them.

versation happened to fall on the commandant of artillery, who was enthusiastically praised. "Do not reckon on him," said she; "that young man has too much understanding to remain long a *sans-culotte*." On which the general exclaimed, with the voice of a Stentor, "Femme Cartaux, would you make us all out fools then?" "No, I do not say that, my dear; but .... I must tell you, he is not one of your sort."

One day, at head-quarters, a superb carriage arrived from the Paris road; it was followed by a second, and a third; and at length no less than fifteen appeared. It may be imagined how great was the astonishment and curiosity occasioned by such a circumstance in those times of republican simplicity. The *grand monarque* himself could not have travelled with greater pomp. The whole cavalcade had been procured by a requisition in the capital; several of the carriages had belonged to the Court. About sixty soldiers, in fine condition, alighted from them, and inquired for the general-in-chief; they marched up to him with the important air of ambassadors:—"Citizen General," said the orator of the party, "we come from Paris; the patriots are indignant "at your inactivity and delay. The soil of the "Republic has long since been violated; she "trembles to think that the insult still remains "unavenged: she asks, why is Toulon not yet "retaken? Why is the English fleet not yet de-

" stroyed? In her indignation, she has appealed " to her brave sons; we have obeyed her summons, " and burn with impatience to fulfil her expecta- " tion. We are volunteer gunners from Paris: fur- " nish us with arms, to-morrow we will march upon " the enemy." The general, disconcerted at this address, turned to the commandant of artillery, who promised, in a whisper, to rid him of the heroes next morning. They were well received, and at daybreak the commandant of artillery led them to the seashore, and put some guns at their disposal. Astonished to find themselves exposed from head to foot, they asked whether there was no shelter, or epaulement. They were told that all those things were out of fashion; that patriotism had abolished them. Meanwhile an English frigate fired a broadside, and put all the braggadocios to flight. There was nothing but tumult in the camp; some openly fled, and the rest quietly slipped after them.

Disorder and anarchy now prevailed. Dupas, the factotum of the general-in-chief, a man of no ability, made himself busy, and was continually meddling with the artillery-men in the arrangement of their field-train and batteries. A plan was formed to get rid of him. They turned him into ridicule, and urged each other on till they became very vehement in their jokes. On a sudden Dupas appeared among them with all his usual confidence, giving orders and making inquiries about every thing

he saw. He got uncivil answers, and high words arose. The tumult spread on every side; cries of *l'aristocrate* and *la lanterne* were echoed from every mouth; and Dupas clapped both spurs to his horse, and never returned to annoy them.

The commandant of artillery was to be seen every where. His activity and knowledge gave him a decided influence over the rest of the army. Whenever the enemy attempted to make a sortie, or compelled the besiegers to have recourse to rapid and unexpected movements, the heads of the columns and detachments were always sure to exclaim, "Run to the commandant of artillery, "and ask him what we are to do; he under- "stands the localities better than any one." This advice was uniformly adopted without a murmur. He adopted no precautions for ensuring his own safety: he had several horses killed under him, and received from an Englishman a bayonet-wound in his left thigh, which for a short time threatened him with the necessity of amputation.

Being one day in a battery where one of the gunners was killed, he seized the rammer, and with his own hands loaded ten or twelve times. A few days after, he was attacked with a violent cutaneous disease. No one could conceive where he had caught it, until Mairon, his adjutant, discovered that the dead gunner had been infected with it. In the ardour of youth, and the activity

of service, the commandant of artillery was satisfied with slight remedies, and the disorder disappeared; but the poison had only entered the deeper into his system, it long affected his health, and well nigh cost him his life. From this disorder proceeded the thinness, the feebleness of body, and sickly complexion which characterized the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy and of the Army of Egypt.

It was not till a much later period that Corvisart succeeded, by the application of numerous blisters on his chest, in restoring him to perfect health; and it was then that he acquired the corpulency for which he has since been remarked.

From being the commandant of artillery in the army of Toulon, Napoleon might have become general-in-chief before the close of the siege.—The very day of the attack on *le Petit Gibraltar*, General Dugommier, who had delayed it for some days, wished to delay it still longer; about three or four o'clock in the afternoon the Representatives sent for Napoleon: they were dissatisfied with Dugommier, particularly on account of his delay; they wished to deprive him of the command, and to transfer it to the chief of the artillery, who declined accepting it. Napoleon went to the general, whom he esteemed and loved, informed him of what had occurred, and persuaded him to decide on the attack. About eight or nine in the evening, when all the preparations

were completed, and just as the attack was about to commence, a change took place in the state of affairs, and the Representatives countermanded the attack. Dugommier, however, still influenced by the commandant of artillery, persisted: had he failed, he must have forfeited his head.—Such was the train of affairs and the justice of the times.

The notes which the Committees of Paris found in the office of the artillery department respecting Napoleon, first called their attention to his conduct at the siege of Toulon. They saw that, in spite of his youth and the inferiority of his rank, as soon as he appeared there he was master.—This was the natural effect of the ascendancy of knowledge, activity, and energy, over the ignorance and confusion of the moment. He was, in fact, the conqueror of Toulon, and yet he is scarcely named in the official despatches. He was in possession of the town before the army had scarcely dreamt of it. After taking *le Petit Gibraltar*, which he always looked upon as the key of the whole enterprise, he said to old Dugommier, who was worn out with fatigue,—"Go and rest yourself—we have taken Toulon—you may sleep there the day after to-morrow." When Dugommier found the thing actually accomplished—when he reflected that the young commandant of artillery had always foretold exactly what would happen, he became all

enthusiasm and admiration; he was never tired of praising him. It is perfectly true, as some of the publications of the period relate, that Dugommier informed the Committees of Paris that he had with him a young man who merited particular notice; for that, whichever side he might adopt, he was certainly destined to throw great weight into the balance. When Dugommier joined the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, he wished to take with him the young commandant of artillery; but this he was unable to do. He however spoke of him incessantly; and at a subsequent period, when this same army was, on the conclusion of peace with Spain, sent to reinforce the Army of Italy, of which Napoleon soon after became general-in-chief, he found on his arrival, that in consequence of all Dugommier had said of him, the officers had, to use his own expression, scarcely eyes enough to look at him.

With regard to Napoleon, his success at Toulon did not much astonish him; he enjoyed it, he says, with a lively satisfaction, unmingled with surprise. He was equally happy the following year at Saorgio, where his operations were admirable: he accomplished in a few days what had been attempted in vain for two years. "Vendemiaire, and even Montenotte," said the Emperor, "never induced me to look upon myself as a man "of a superior class; it was not till after Lodi that "I was struck with the possibility of my becoming

" a decided actor on the scene of political events.—
" It was then that the first spark of my ambition
" was kindled." He however mentioned that subsequently to Vendemiaire, during his command of the Army of the Interior, he drew up the plan of a campaign, which was to terminate by a treaty of peace on the summit of the Simmering, which plan he shortly afterwards carried into execution at Leoben. It is perhaps still to be found in the official archives. The well-known fury of the times was still farther increased under the walls of Toulon, by the assembling of two hundred deputies from the neighbouring popular associations, who had proceeded thither for the purpose of instigating the most atrocious measures. To them must be attributed the excesses which were then committed, and of which the whole army complained. When Napoleon afterwards rose to distinction, attempts were made to throw the odium of these atrocities on him. It would be a degradation to seek to reply to such calumnies.

As soon as Napoleon took the command of the artillery at Toulon, he availed himself of the necessity of circumstances to procure the reinstatement of many of his old companions, who had been removed from the service on account of their birth or political principles. He obtained the appointment of Colonel Gassendi to the post of keeper of the arsenal of Marseilles. The

obstinacy and severity of this man are well known; they frequently placed him in danger: it more than once required all Napoleon's vigilance and care to save him from the effects of the irritation which his conduct excited.

The ascendancy which Napoleon had acquired, through his services, in the port and arsenal of Toulon, afforded him the means of saving several unfortunate members of the emigrant family Chabriant, or Chabrillan, who had been overtaken by storms at sea, and driven on the French shore. They were about to be put to death, for the law was decisive against emigrants who might return to France. They urged in their defence, that their return had been purely the effect of accident, and was contrary to their own wishes; the only favour they solicited was to be permitted to depart; but all was vain: they would have perished had not the commandant of the artillery hazarded his own safety and procured for them a covered boat, which he sent off from the French coast under the pretence of business relative to his department. During the reign of Napoleon, these individuals took an opportunity of expressing their gratitude to him, and informing him that they had carefully preserved the order which saved their lives.

Napoleon was himself, at various times, exposed to the fury of revolutionary assassins.—Whenever he established a new battery, the nu-

merous patriotic deputations, who were at the camp, solicited the honour of having it named after them. Napoleon named one the battery of the *Patriots of the South:* this was a sufficient ground for his being denounced and accused of federalism; and had he been a less useful person, he would have been put under arrest, or, in other words, he would have been sacrificed. In short, language is inadequate to describe the phrenzy and horror of the times. The Emperor, for example, has told us that, while engaged in fortifying the coasts at Marseilles, he was a witness to the horrible condemnation of the merchant Hugues, a man of eighty-four years of age, deaf and nearly blind. In spite of his age and infirmities, his atrocious executioners pronounced him guilty of conspiracy: his real crime was his being worth eighteen millions. This he was himself aware of, and he offered to surrender his wealth to the tribunal, provided he might be allowed to retain five hundred thousand francs, which, he said, he could not live long to enjoy. But this proposition was rejected, and he was led to the scaffold. "At this sight," said Napoleon, "I thought the world was at an end!"—an expression which he was accustomed to employ on any extraordinary occasion. Barras and Fréron were the authors of these atrocities. The Emperor did Robespierre the justice to say, that he had seen long letters written by him to his brother, Robespierre the

younger, who was then the Representative to the Army of the South, in which he warmly opposed and disavowed these excesses, declaring that they would disgrace and ruin the Revolution.

Napoleon, when at Toulon, formed a friendship with many individuals who subsequently became very noted. He distinguished in the train a young officer, whose talent he had at first much difficulty in forming, but from whom he afterwards derived the greatest services :—this was Duroc, who, with a very unprepossessing person, was endowed with talent of the most solid and useful kind: he loved the Emperor for himself, was devoted to his interests, and at the same time knew how to tell him the truth at proper seasons. He was afterwards created Duke de Frioul and Grand Marshal of the Palace. He placed the Imperial household on an excellent footing, and preserved the most perfect order.—At his death, the Emperor thought he had sustained an irreparable loss, and many other persons were of the same opinion. The Emperor told me that Duroc was the only man who shared his intimacy and possessed his entire confidence.

During the erection of one of the first batteries which Napoleon, on his arrival at Toulon, directed against the English, he asked whether there was a sergeant or corporal present who could write. A man advanced from the ranks, and wrote to his dictation on the epaulement. The note was scarcely ended, when a cannon ball,

which had been fired in the direction of the battery, fell near the spot, and the paper was immediately covered by the loose earth thrown up by the ball. "Well," said the writer, "I shall have no need of sand." This remark, together with the coolness with which it was made, fixed the attention of Napoleon, and made the fortune of the sergeant. This man was Junot, afterwards Duke of Abrantes, colonel-general of the Hussars, commandant in Portugal, and governor-general in Illyria, where he evinced signs of mental alienation, which increased on his return to France, where he wounded himself in a horrible way.—He died the victim of the intemperance which destroyed both his health and his reason.

Napoleon, on being created General of the Artillery, and Commandant of that department in the Army of Italy, carried thither all the superiority and influence which he had acquired before Toulon; still, however, he experienced reverses, and even dangers. He was put under arrest for a short time at Nice, by the representative Laporte, because he refused to crouch to his authority. Another representative pronounced sentence of outlawry upon him, because he would not suffer him to employ his artillery-horses for the service of the post. Finally, a decree, which was never executed, summoned him to the bar of the Convention, for having proposed certain military measures relative to the fortifications at Marseilles.

When attached to the Army of Nice or of Italy, he became a great favourite with the representative Robespierre the younger, whom he described as possessing qualities very different from his brother: the latter Napoleon never saw. Robespierre the younger, on being recalled to Paris by his brother, some time before the 9th of Thermidor, exerted every endeavour to prevail on Napoleon to accompany him. "If I had not firmly resisted," observed the Emperor, "who knows whither this "first step might have led me, and for what a dif- "ferent destiny I might have been reserved?"

At the Army of Nice there was another Representative, an insignificant man. His wife, who was an extremely pretty and fascinating woman, shared and even usurped his authority; she was a native of Versailles. Both husband and wife paid great attention to the General of artillery; they became extremely fond of him, and treated him in the handsomest manner. This was a great advantage to the young general, for at that time, during the absence or the inefficiency of the laws, a representative of the people was a man of immense power.

The individual here alluded to was one of those who, in the Convention, most contributed to bring Napoleon into notice, at the crisis of Vendemiaire: this was the natural consequence of the deep impressions produced by the character and capacity of the young general.

The Emperor relates that after he had ascended the throne, he again saw his old acquaintance the fair representative of Nice. She was so much altered as to be scarcely recognisable; her husband was dead, and she was reduced to extreme indigence. The Emperor readily granted every thing she solicited: "He realized," he said, "all "her dreams, and even went beyond them." Although she lived at Versailles, many years had elapsed before she had succeeded in gaining access to him. Letters, petitions, solicitations of every description had proved unavailing: "So "difficult it is," said the Emperor, "to reach the "sovereign, even when he does not wish to deny "himself." At length, one day when he was on a hunting excursion at Versailles, Napoleon happened to mention this lady to Berthier, who was also a native of that place, and had known her in her youth; and he who had never yet deigned to mention her, and still less to regard her petitions, on the following day presented her to the sovereign. "But why did you not get intro- "duced to me through our mutual acquaintances "in the Army of Nice?" inquired the Emperor: "many of them are now great men, and are on a "constant footing of intimacy with me." "Alas! "sire," replied she, "our acquaintance ceased "when their fortune was advanced, and I was "overtaken by misfortune."

The Emperor one day communicated to me

some details respecting this old friendship :—" I " was," said he, " very young when I first knew this " lady; I was proud of the favourable impression " I had made on her, and seized every opportunity " of shewing her all the attention in my power. I " will mention one circumstance, to shew for what " trivial causes men sometimes abuse the authority " on which the fate of their fellow-creatures de- " pends: for I am no worse than the rest. I was " walking about one day with the Representative's " wife, inspecting our positions in the neighbour- " hood of the Col de Tende, when I suddenly took " it into my head to give her an idea of an engage- " ment, and for this purpose ordered the attack of " an advanced post. We were the conquerors, it is " true; but the affair could be attended by no ad- " vantage. The attack was a mere whim, and yet " it cost the lives of several men. I have never " failed to reproach myself whenever I look back " on this affair."

The events of Thermidor having produced a change in the Committees of the Convention, Aubry, formerly a captain of artillery, was appointed to direct the Committee of War, and he re-modelled the army. He did not forget himself; he obtained the rank of general of artillery, and he favoured several of his old comrades to the injury of the inferior officers, whom he disbanded. Napoleon, who was at this time scarcely twenty-five years of age, became a general of infantry,

and he was chosen for the service of La Vendée. This circumstance induced him to quit the Army of Italy, in order to protest against the change, which, on every account, was dissatisfactory to him. Finding Aubry inflexible, and even offended at his just representations, he gave in his resignation. The narrative of the Campaigns of Italy shew that only a short time elapsed before he was again employed in the topographic committee, by which the movements of the army and the plans of the campaigns were arranged: here he was on the 13th of Vendemiaire.

Napoleon's expostulation with Aubry on the subject of his new appointment formed a perfect scene: he vehemently insisted, because he had facts to bear him through; Aubry was obstinate and bitter, because he had power in his hands. He told Napoleon that he was too young, and that he must let older men go before him; Napoleon replied, that a soldier soon grew old on the field of battle, and that he should speedily attain the suitable age. They came to very high words.

I informed the Emperor that, on returning from my emigration, I occupied for a considerable time, in the Rue Saint Florentin, the identical apartment in which this scene took place. I had frequently heard it spoken of; and though it was described by unfriendly tongues, each, nevertheless, took great interest in relating the details,

and in trying to guess the part of the room in which any particular gesture was made or any remarkable word spoken.

The history of the famous day of Vendemiaire, which had so important an influence on the fate of the Revolution and of Napoleon, will shew that he hesitated for some time before he undertook the defence of the Convention.

On the night succeeding that day, Napoleon presented himself to the Committee of Forty, which was established at the Tuileries. He wanted to procure mortars and ammunition from Meudon; but such was the circumspection of the President (Cambacerès) that in spite of the dangers which had marked the day, he refused to sign the order; and merely, by way of accommodating the matter, requested that the guns and ammunition might be placed at the disposal of the General.

During his command of Paris, subsequently to the 13th of Vendemiaire, Napoleon had to encounter a great scarcity, which occasioned several popular commotions. One day when the usual distribution had not taken place, crowds of people collected round the bakers' shops. Napoleon was parading about the city with a party of his staff to preserve public tranquillity. A crowd of persons, chiefly women, assembled round him, loudly calling for bread. The crowd augmented, the outcries increased, and the situation of Napoleon

and his officers became critical. A woman, of monstrous robust appearance, was particularly conspicuous by her gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauletted fellows," said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress: so "long as they can eat and grow fat, they care "not if the poor people die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her, and said, "Good woman, "look at me; which is fattest, you or I?" Napoleon was at that time extremely thin: "I was "a mere slip of parchment," said he. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the staff-officers continued their round.

The Memoirs of the Campaign of Italy shew how Napoleon became acquainted with Madame de Beauharnais, and how he contracted the marriage which has been so greatly misrepresented in the accounts of the time. As soon as he got introduced to Madame de Beauharnais, he spent almost every evening at her house, which was frequented by the most agreeable company in Paris. When the majority of the party retired, there usually remained M. de Montesquiou, the father of the Grand Chamberlain; the Duke de Nivernais, so celebrated for the graces of his wit; and a few others. They used to look round to see that the doors were all shut, and they would then say, "Let us sit down and chat "about the old court; let us make a tour to "Versailles."

The poverty of the treasury and the scarcity of specie were so great during the Republic, that on the departure of General Bonaparte for the army of Italy, all his efforts, joined to those of the Directory, could only succeed in raising 2000 louis, which he carried with him in his carriage. With this sum he set out to conquer Italy, and to march upon the empire of the world. The following is a curious fact: An order of the day was published, signed Berthier, directing the General-in-chief, on his arrival at the head-quarters at Nice, to distribute to the different generals, to enable them to enter on the campaign, the sum of four louis in specie. For a considerable time no such thing as specie had been seen. This order of the day displays the circumstances of the times more truly and faithfully than whole volumes written on the subject.

As soon as Napoleon joined the army, he proved himself to be a man born for command. From that moment he filled the theatre of the world*;

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* CHRONOLOGICAL RECAPITULATION.

The Emperor was born - - - -	Aug. 15, 1769
Entered the military school of Brienne -	1779
Transferred to the school of Paris - -	1783
Lieutenant in the 1st Artillery regiment of la Fère - - - -	Sept. 1, 1785
Captain - - - -	Feb. 6, 1792
Chief of Battalion - - -	Oct. 19, 1793
General of Brigade - - -	Feb. 6, 1794

he occupied all Europe; he was a meteor blazing in the firmament; he concentrated all eyes, rivetted all thoughts, and formed the subject of all conversations. From that time every Gazette, every publication, every monument, became the record of his deeds. His name was inscribed in every page and in every line, and echoed from every mouth.

His appearance in the command produced a revolution in his manners, conduct, and language. Decrès has often told me, that he was at Toulon when he first heard of Napoleon's appointment to the command of the army of Italy. He had known him well in Paris, and thought himself on terms of perfect intimacy with him. "Thus," said he, "when we learned that the new General was about to pass through the city, I immediately proposed to introduce my comrades to him, and to turn my connexion to the best account. I hastened to him full of eagerness and joy; the door of the apartment was thrown open, and I was

General of Division - - -	Oct. 16, 1795
General-in-Chief of the army of the Interior	Oct. 26, 1795
General-in-Chief of the army of Italy -	Feb. 23, 1796
First Consul - - - -	Dec. 13, 1799
Consul for life - - -	Aug. 2, 1802
Emperor - - - -	May 18, 1804
Crowned - - - -	Dec. 2, 1804
First abdication at Fontainebleau - -	April 11, 1814
Resumed the reins of government - -	Mar. 20, 1815
Second abdication at l'Elysée - -	June 21, 1815

on the point of rushing towards him with my wonted familiarity, but his attitude, his look, the tone of his voice, suddenly deterred me. There was nothing offensive either in his appearance or manner; but the impression he produced was sufficient to prevent me from ever again attempting to encroach upon the distance that separated us."

Napoleon's generalship was, moreover, characterized by the skill, energy, and purity of his military administration; his constant dislike of peculation of any kind, and his total disregard of his own private interest. "I returned from the campaign of Italy," said he, "with but 300,000 francs in my possession. I might easily have carried off 10 or 12 millions; that sum might have been mine. I never made out any accounts, nor was I ever asked for any. I expected on my return to receive some great national reward. It was publicly reported that Chambord was to be given to me, and I should have been very glad to have had it; but the idea was set aside by the Directory. I had, however, transmitted to France at least 50,000,000 for the service of the State. This, I imagine, was the first instance in modern history of an army contributing to maintain the country to which it belonged, instead of being a burthen on it."

When Napoleon was in treaty with the Duke de Modena, Salicetti, the Government Commis-

sary with the army, who had hitherto been on indifferent terms with him, entered his cabinet.— "The Commander d'Este," said he, "the Duke's "brother, is here with four millions in gold, con- "tained in four chests. He comes in the name "of his brother to beg of you to accept them, "and I advise you to do so. I am a countryman "of yours, and I know your family affairs. The "Directory and the Legislative Body will never "acknowledge your services. This money be- "longs to you; take it without scruple and with- "out publicity. A proportionate diminution "will be made in the Duke's contribution, and "he will be very glad to have gained a pro- "tector."—"I thank you," coolly answered Napoleon, "I shall not for that sum place my- "self in the power of the Duke de Modena:— "I wish to continue free."

A Commissary-in-chief of the same army used often to relate that he had witnessed an offer of seven millions in gold made in a like manner to Napoleon by the Government of Venice, to save it from destruction, which offer was refused.— The Emperor smiled at the transports of admiration evinced by this financier, to whom the refusal of his General appeared super-human—an action much more difficult and noble than the gaining of victories. The Emperor dwelt with a considerable degree of complacency on these anecdotes of his disinterestedness. He however

observed, that he had been in the wrong, and that such a course of conduct was the most improvident he could have pursued, whether his intention had been to make himself the head of a party, and to acquire influence, or to remain in the station of a private individual; for, on his return, he found himself almost destitute; and he might have continued in a career of absolute poverty, while his inferior generals and commissaries were amassing large fortunes. "But," added he, "if "my commissary had seen me accept the bribe, "who can tell to what lengths he might have "gone? My refusal was at least a check upon "him."

"When I was placed at the head of affairs, as "Consul, it was only by setting an example of "disinterestedness, and employing the utmost "vigilance, that I could succeed in changing the "conduct of the Administration, and putting a stop "to the dreadful spectacle of Directorial peculations. It cost me an immense deal of trouble "to overcome the inclinations of the first persons "in the State, whose conduct at length became "strict and irreproachable. I was obliged to "keep them constantly in fear. How often did I "not repeat in my councils, that if my own brother were found to be in fault, I should not "hesitate to dismiss him."

No man in the world ever had more wealth at his disposal, and appropriated less to himself.—

Napoleon, according to his own account, possessed as much as four hundred millions of specie in the cellars of the Tuileries. His extraordinary domain amounted to more than seven hundred millions. He has said that he distributed upwards of five hundred millions in endowments to the army. And, what is very extraordinary, he who circulated such heaps of wealth, never possessed any private property of his own! He had collected in the Museum, treasures which it was impossible to estimate, and yet he never had a picture or a curiosity of his own.

On his return from Italy, and on the eve of his departure for Egypt, he became possessed of Malmaison, and there he deposited nearly all his property. He purchased it in the name of his wife, who was older than himself, and consequently, in case of his surviving her, he must have forfeited all claim to it. The fact is, as he himself has said, that he never had a taste nor a desire for riches.

"If I now possess any thing*, continued he, "it is owing to measures which have been adopted since my departure; but even in that case it

* The deposit at the house of Lafitte.

On the Emperor's second abdication, somebody who loved him for his own sake, and who knew his improvident disposition, eagerly enquired whether any measures had been taken for his future support. Finding that no provision had been made, and that Napoleon remained absolutely destitute, a contribution was

" must depend on a hair's-breadth chance whe-
" ther there be any thing in the world I can call
" my own or not. But every one has his relative
" ideas. I have a taste for founding, and not for
" possessing. My riches consisted in glory and
" celebrity: the Simplon and the Louvre were, in

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made, and four or five millions were raised for him, of which M. Lafitte became the depositary.

At the moment of his departure from Malmaison, the solicitude of Napoleon's real friends was no less serviceable to him.—An individual, aware of the disorder and confusion of our situation, wished to ascertain whether the little treasure had been forwarded to its destination. What was his astonishment on learning that the carriage in which it had been placed, was left in a coach-house at Malmaison. A new difficulty arose: the key of the coach-house was not to be found; and the embarrassment occasioned by this unexpected circumstance delayed our departure for some moments. M. Lafitte wished immediately to give the Emperor a receipt for the sum; but Napoleon would not accept it—saying, " I know you, M. Lafitte—
" I know that you did not approve of my government; but I
" consider you as an honest man."

M. Lafitte seems to have been doomed to be the depositary of the funds of unfortunate Monarchs. Louis XVIII., on his departure for Ghent, also placed a considerable sum of money in his hands. On Napoleon's arrival, on 20th March, M. Lafitte was sent for by the Emperor, and questioned respecting the deposit, which he did not deny. On his expressing his apprehension lest a reproach should be intended to be conveyed in the questions which had been put to him;—" None," said the Emperor: " that
" money belonged personally to the King, and private affairs are
" totally distinct from political matters."

" the eyes of the people and of foreigners, more " my property than private domains could have " been. I purchased diamonds for the crown, " I repaired and adorned the Imperial palaces; " and I was often surprised to find that the ex- " penses lavished by Josephine on her green- " houses and her gallery, were a real injury to my " *Jardin des Plantes* and my *Musée de Paris.*"

On taking the command of the army of Italy, Napoleon, notwithstanding his extreme youth, immediately impressed the troops with a spirit of subordination, confidence, and the most absolute devotedness. The army was subdued by his genius, rather than seduced by his popularity: he was in general very severe and reserved.— During the whole course of his life he has uniformly disdained to court the favour of the multitude by unworthy means; perhaps he has even carried this feeling to an extent which may have been injurious to him. A singular custom was established in the army of Italy, in consequence of the youth of the commander, or from some other cause.— After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young General, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted with his new title. They made him a Corporal at Lodi, and a Sergeant at Castiglione; and hence the surname of " *Petit Caporal,*" which was for a long time applied to Napoleon by

the soldiers. How subtle is the chain which unites the most trivial circumstances to the most important events!—Perhaps this very nickname contributed to his miraculous success on his return in 1815.—While he was haranguing the first battalion which he found it necessary to address, a voice from the ranks exclaimed—"*Vive notre petit Caporal!*—we will never fight against him!"

The administration of the Directory, and that of the General-in-chief of the army of Italy, seemed two distinct Governments. The Directory put the emigrants to death: the army of Italy never inflicted capital punishment on any one of them. The Directory, on learning that Wurmser was besieged in Mantua, wrote to Napoleon, to remind him that he was an emigrant; but Napoleon, on making him prisoner, eagerly sought to render an affecting homage of respect to his old age. The Directory adopted the most insulting forms in communicating with the Pope: the General of the army of Italy addressed him by the words "Most Holy Father," and wrote to him with respect. The Directory endeavoured to overthrow the authority of the Pope: Napoleon preserved it. The Directory banished and proscribed Priests: Napoleon commanded his soldiers, wherever they might fall in with them, to remember that they were Frenchmen and their brothers. The Directory would have exterminated every vestige of

aristocracy: Napoleon wrote to the democracy of Genoa, blaming their violence; and did not hesitate to declare that if the Genoese attached any value to the preservation of his esteem, they must learn to respect the Statue of Doria, and the institutions to which they were indebted for their glory.

The Emperor determines to write his Memoirs.

7th—9th. We continued our course, and nothing occurred to interrupt the uniformity which surrounded us. Our days were all alike: the correctness of my journal alone informed me of the day of the week or of the month. Fortunately my time was employed, and therefore the day usually slipped on with a certain degree of facility. The materials which I collected in the afternoon conversation afforded me no idle time until next day.

Meanwhile the Emperor observed that I was very much occupied, and he even suspected the subject on which I was engaged. He determined to ascertain the fact, and obtained sight of a few pages of my journal: he was not displeased with it. Having alluded several times to the subject, he observed that such a work would be interesting rather than useful. The military events, for example, thus detailed, in the ordinary course of conversation, would be meagre, incomplete, and devoid of end or object: they would be mere

anecdotes, frequently of the most puerile kind, instead of grand operations and results. I eagerly seized the favourable opportunity: I entirely concurred in his opinion, and ventured to suggest the idea of his dictating to me the campaigns of Italy. "It would," I observed, "be a benefit to "the country—a true monument of national glory. "Our time is unemployed, our hours are tedious; "occupation will help to divert us, and some mo- "ments may not be devoid of pleasure." This idea became the subject of various conversations.

At length the Emperor came to a determination, and on Saturday the 9th of September he called me into his cabin, and dictated to me, for the first time, some details respecting the siege of Toulon: they will be found in the Campaigns of Italy, which will form a separate work, without at all interfering with the anecdotes which I shall continue to note down here whenever an opportunity occurs.

Trade Wind.—The Line.

10th—13th. On approaching the line, we fell in with what are called the trade-winds, that is to say, winds blowing constantly from the east. Science explains this phenomenon in a way sufficiently satisfactory. When a vessel sailing from Europe first encounters these winds, they blow from the north-east; in proportion as the ship ap-

proaches the line, the winds become more easterly. Calms are generally to be expected under the line. When the line is crossed, the winds gradually change to the south, until they blow in the direction of the south-east. At length, after passing the tropics, the trade-winds are lost, and variable winds are met with, as in our European regions. A ship sailing from Europe to St. Helena, is always driven in a westerly direction by these constant easterly winds. It would be very difficult to gain that island by a direct course; and, indeed, this is never attempted. The ship stands away to the variable winds in the southern latitude, and then shapes her course towards the Cape of Good Hope, so as to fall in with the trade winds from the south-east, which bring her, with the wind astern, to St. Helena.

Two different courses are taken to gain the variable winds of the southern latitudes; the one is to cross the line about the 20th or 24th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London: those who prefer this course, affirm that it is less exposed to the equatorial calms, and that though it frequently has the disadvantage of carrying the vessel within sight of Brazil, yet it enables her to make that part of her voyage in a short time. Admiral Cockburn, who was inclined to regard this course as a prejudice and a routine, determined in favour of the second method, which consisted in steering more to the east, and fol-

lowing particular examples with which he was acquainted, he endeavoured to cross the line about the 2d or 3d degrees of longitude. He doubted not that standing towards the variable winds, he should pass sufficiently near St. Helena, to shorten his passage considerably, if even he did not succeed in reaching the island by tacking without leaving the trade-winds.

The winds, to our great astonishment, veered to the west, (a circumstance which the Admiral informed us was more common than we supposed), and this tended to favour his opinion. He abandoned the bad sailers of his squadron, in proportion as they lagged behind; and he determined on gaining the place of his destination with all possible speed.

A Storm—Examination of certain libels upon the Emperor. —General reflections.

14th—18th. After a few slight gales and several calms, we had on the 16th a considerable fall of rain, to the great joy of the crew. The heat was very moderate; it may, indeed, be said, that with the exception of the storm at Madeira, we had uniformly enjoyed mild weather. But water was very scarce on board the ship; and, for the sake of economy, the crew took advantage of the opportunity of collecting the rain-water, of which each sailor laid by a little store for his own

use. The rain fell heavily just as the Emperor had got upon deck to take his afternoon walk. But this did not disappoint him of his usual exercise; he merely called for his famous grey great coat, which the English regarded with deep interest. The Grand Marshal and I attended the Emperor in his walk. The rain descended heavily for upwards of an hour; when the Emperor left the deck, I had great difficulty in stripping off my wet clothes; almost every thing I wore was soaked through.

For several succeeding days the weather continued very rainy; this somewhat impeded my labours, for the damp penetrated into our wretched little cabin; and on the other hand, it was not very agreeable to walk on deck. This was the first time during our passage that we had had any thing like a continuance of wet weather; and it quite disconcerted us. I filled up the intervals between my hours of occupation, in conversing with the officers of the ship. I was not on intimate terms with any of them; but I was in the habit of observing civility and politeness to them all. They loved to talk with us on French affairs, and their ignorance of all that concerned France and the French people was almost incredible. We excited mutual astonishment in each other: they surprised us by their degenerate political principles, and we astonished them by the novelty of our ideas and manners, of which they had

previously formed no conception. They certainly knew infinitely less of France than of China.

One of the principal officers of the ship, in a familiar conversation, happened to say—"I sup-"pose you would be very much alarmed if we "were to land you on the coast of France."—"Why so?" I enquired.—"Because," replied he, "the King would perhaps make you pay dearly "for having left your country to follow another "Sovereign; and also because you wear a cock-"ade which he has prohibited."—"And is this "language becoming an Englishman?" observed I. "You must be degenerated indeed! You are, "it is true, far removed from the period of your "revolution, to which you so justly apply the epi-"thet *glorious*. But we, who are nearer to ours, "by which we have gained so much, may tell "you that every word you say is heresy. In the "first place, our punishment depends not on the "King's pleasure; we are subject only to the "law. Now, there exists no law against us; "and if any law were to be violated for the purpose "of applying to our case, it would be your duty "to protect us. Your General has pledged him-"self to do so by the capitulation of Paris; and "it would be an eternal disgrace to the English "Ministry, were they to permit the sacrifice of "lives which their public faith had solemnly "guaranteed.

"In the next place, we are not following

" another sovereign. That the Emperor Napo-
" leon was our sovereign is an undeniable fact;
" but he has abdicated, and his reign is at an
" end. You are confounding private actions with
" party measures; love and devotedness, with
" political opinions. Finally, with regard to our
" colours, which seem to have dazzled you so
" much, they are but a remnant of our old cos-
" tume. We wear them to-day, only because we
" wore them yesterday. One cannot with indiffer-
" ence lay aside things to which one is attached;
" that can only be done from constraint or ne-
" cessity. Why did you not deprive us of our
" colours when you deprived us of our arms?—
" the one act would have been as reasonable as
" the other. We are here only as private men: we
" do not preach sedition. We cannot deny that
" these colours are dear to us: we are attached
" to them because they have seen us victorious
" over all our enemies; because we have paraded
" them in triumph through every capital in Eu-
" rope; and because we wore them while we were
" the first nation in the world."

On another occasion, one of the officers, after glancing at the extraordinary vicissitude of recent events, said—" Who knows whether we may not
" yet be destined to repair the misfortunes which
" we have occasioned to you? What would
" be your astonishment if Wellington should
" one day conduct Napoleon back to Paris?"—

"I should be astonished indeed," I replied; "but I "should certainly decline the honour of being one "of the party: at such a price, I would not hesi- "tate to abandon Napoleon himself! But I may "rest easy on that score; for I can swear Napo- "leon will never put me to such a trial. It is from "him I imbibe these sentiments: it was he who "cured me of the contrary doctrine, which I call "the error of my youth."

The English were also very fond of asking us questions concerning the Emperor, whose character and disposition, as they afterwards avowed, had been described to them in the falsest colours. It was not their fault, they observed, if they formed an erroneous estimate of his character: they knew him only through the works published in England, which were all greatly exaggerated, and much to his prejudice: they had several of these publications on board the ship.—One day I happened to cast my eyes on one of a most malignant character: on another occasion, when I was about to look on a book which one of the officers was reading, he suddenly closed it, observing it was so violent against the Emperor that he could not prevail on himself to let me see it. Another time, the Admiral questioned me respecting certain imputations contained in different works in his library, some of which he said enjoyed a degree of credit, while all had produced a great sensation in England. This circumstance suggested to me the idea of successively examin-

ing all the works of this kind that were on board the ship, in order to note down my opinion of them in my journal—conceiving that so favourable an opportunity might never again occur of obtaining, if I chose, information on those points which it might be worth while to enquire into.

Before I commence my review of these works, I must beg to offer a few general remarks: they will suffice to answer in anticipation many of the numberless accusations that will fall in my way. Calumny and falsehood are the arms of the civil or political, the foreign or domestic enemy. They are the resource of the vanquished and the feeble, of those who are governed by hatred or fear.—They are the food of the drawing-room, and the garbage of the public place: they rage with the greater fury in proportion as their object is exalted: there is nothing which they will not venture to propagate. The more absurd, ridiculous, and incredible calumnies and falsehoods may be, the more eagerly are they received and repeated from mouth to mouth. Triumph and success are but fresh causes of irritation: a moral storm will invariably gather; and bursting in the moment of adversity, it will precipitate and complete the fall, and will become the immense lever of public opinion.

No man was ever so much assailed and abused as Napoleon. No individual was ever the subject of so many pamphlets, libels, atrocious and ab-

surd stories and false assertions. This may be because he rose from the common rank of life to supreme distinction, and advanced at the head of a revolution which he himself had civilized. These two circumstances plunged him into a deadly contest with the rest of Europe—a contest in which he was subdued only because he wished to terminate it too speedily. Napoleon, the conqueror of his neighbours, and in some measure a universal Monarch,—hated by the aristocrats of Europe as a Marius, by the demagogues as a Sylla, and by the republicans as a Cæsar;—raised against himself a hurricane of passions both at home and abroad; while he had on his side only the genius, the force, and the destiny of his own power.

Despair, policy, and fury, in every country, painted him as an object of detestation and alarm. Thus, all that has been said against him can excite no astonishment: it is only surprising that more calumny has not been uttered, and that it has not produced a much greater effect. When in the enjoyment of his power, he never would permit any one to reply to the attacks that were made upon him. "Whatever pains might have "been bestowed on such answers," said he, "they "would only have given additional weight to the "accusations they were intended to refute. It "would have been said that all that was written "in my defence was ordered and paid for. The "ill-managed praise of those by whom I was sur-

"rounded, had already in some instances been "more prejudicial to me than all the abuse of "which I was the object. Facts were the most "convincing answers. A fine monument, ano- "ther good law, or a new triumph, were sufficient "to defeat thousands of such falsehoods. Decla- "mation passes away, but deeds remain!"

This is unquestionably true with regard to posterity. The great men of former times are handed down to us free from the ephemeral accusations of their contemporaries. But it is not thus during the lifetime of the individual; and in 1814 Napoleon was convinced by cruel experience that even deeds may vanish before the fury of declamation. At the moment of his fall, he was absolutely overwhelmed by a torrent of abuse. But it was reserved for him whose life had been so fertile in prodigies to surmount this adverse stroke of fate, and almost immediately to arise resplendent from amidst his own ruins. His miraculous return is certainly unparalleled both in its execution or its results. The transports which it called forth, penetrated into neighbouring countries, where prayers for his success were offered up either publicly or in secret; and he who in 1814 was defeated and pursued as the scourge of human nature, suddenly re-appeared in 1815 as the hope of his fellow-creatures.

Calumny and falsehood in this instance lost their prey by having overshot their mark. The

good sense of mankind in a great measure rendered justice to Napoleon, and the abuse that had been heaped upon him was thenceforth discredited. "Poison lost its effect on Mithridates," said the Emperor, as he was the other day glancing over some new libels upon himself, "and since "1814 calumny cannot injure me."

In the universal clamour which was directed against him when in the enjoyment of his power, England bore the most conspicuous part.

In England two great machines were maintained in full activity; the one conducted by the emigrants, for whom nothing was too bad; and the other under the control of the English ministers, who had established a system of defamation, and who had regularly organized its action and effects. They maintained in their pay pamphleteers and libelists in every corner of Europe; their tasks were marked out to them; and their plans of attack were regularly laid and combined.

The English ministry multiplied the employment of these potent engines in England more than elsewhere. The English, who were more free and enlightened than other nations, stood the more in need of excitement. From this system the English ministers derived the two-fold advantage of rousing public opinion against the common enemy, and withdrawing attention from their own conduct by directing popular clamour and indignation to the character and conduct of

others: by this means their own character and conduct were screened from that investigation and recrimination which they might not have found very agreeable. Thus the assassination of Paul at St. Petersburgh, and of our envoys in Persia; the seizure of Naper-Tandy in the free city of Hamburgh; the capture, in time of peace, of two rich Spanish frigates; the acquisition of the whole of India; the retaining of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, against the faith of treaties; the machiavelian rupture of the treaty of Amiens; the unjust seizure of our ships, previously to a new declaration of war; the Danish fleet seized with such cold and ironical perfidy, &c. &c.; all these aggressions were overlooked in the general agitation which had been artfully stirred up against a foreign power.

In order to take a just view of the accusations which have been heaped upon Napoleon, by the numerous publications written against him, it is necessary to make allowance for passions and circumstances; to reject with contempt all that is apocryphal, anonymous, and purely declamatory; and to adhere solely to the facts and proofs which would doubtless have been produced by those, who, after the overthrow of their enemy, became possessed of the authentic documents, the archives of the public departments and courts of law, in short, of all the sources of truth which are usually to be found in society. But nothing has been

published; nothing has been brought forward; and, therefore, how much of this monstrous scaffolding falls to the ground. And to be still more rigidly equitable, if we wish to judge Napoleon by the example of his peers, or great men in analogous circumstances; that is to say, by comparing him with the founders of dynasties, or those who have ascended thrones by dint of popular commotions, it may then confidently be said that he is unequalled, and that he shines purely from amidst all that is opposed to him. It would be a loss of time to cite the numberless examples furnished by ancient and modern history: they are accessible to every one. It is only necessary to refer to the two countries which are here under consideration.

Did Napoleon, like Hugues-Capet, raise his arm against his sovereign? Did he cause him to perish in captivity?

Has Napoleon acted like the princes of the present house of Brunswick, who in 1715 and 1745 loaded the scaffold with victims—victims to whom the present English ministers, through their inconsequential policy and the principles they now profess, leave no other qualification than that of faithful subjects dying for their lawful sovereign!

The course by which Napoleon advanced to supreme power, is perfectly simple and natural; it is single in history; the very circumstances of

his elevation render it unparalleled. "I have not "usurped the crown," said he one day to the Council of State, "I have raised it out of the "mire; the people placed it on my head: let "their acts be respected!"

By thus raising up the crown, Napoleon restored France to her rank in European society, terminated her horrors, and revived her character. He freed us of all the evils of our fatal crisis, and reserved to us all the advantages arising out of it. "I ascended the throne unsullied by any of the "crimes of my situation," said he, on one occasion. "How few founders of dynasties can say "as much!"

Never during any period of our history were favours distributed with so much impartiality; merit so indiscriminately sought out and rewarded; public money so usefully employed; the arts and sciences better encouraged, or the glory and lustre of the country raised to so high a pitch. "It is my wish," said he one day to the Council of State, "that the title of Frenchman should be "the best and most desirable on earth; that a "Frenchman travelling through any part of Eu-"rope may think and find himself at home."

If liberty seemed occasionally to suffer encroachments, if authority seemed sometimes to overstep its limits, circumstances rendered those measures necessary and inevitable. Our present misfortunes have, though too late, made us sensible

of this truth; we now render justice, though also too late, to the courage, judgment, and foresight which then dictated those steps. It is certain that in this respect, the political fall of Napoleon has considerably increased his influence. Who can now doubt that his glory and the lustre of his character have been infinitely augmented by his misfortunes?

If the works which have fallen in my way should present any circumstances connected with these general considerations, they will be the object of my particular attention. I do not intend to enter upon a political controversy; I shall not address myself to party men, whose opinions are founded on their interests and passions; I speak only to the cool friend of truth, or to the unprejudiced writer, who in future times may impartially seek for materials: to them alone I address myself; in their eyes my testimony will be superior to anonymous evidence, and will rank on an equality with that which bears a creditable character.

The first work that I looked into was the *Anti-Gallican*, of which I shall speak hereafter.

Employment of our time.

19th—22d. We continued our course with the same wind, the same sky, and the same temperature. Our voyage was monotonous, but pleasant; our days were long, but employment helped them

to glide away. The Emperor now began regularly to dictate to me his Campaigns of Italy. I had already written several chapters. For the first few days, the Emperor viewed this occupation with indifference; but the regularity and promptitude with which I presented to him my daily task, together with the progress we made, soon excited his interest, and at length the pleasure he derived from this dictation, rendered it absolutely necessary to him. He was sure to send for me about eleven o'clock every morning, and he seemed himself to await the hour with impatience. I always read to him what he had dictated on the preceding day, and he then made corrections and dictated farther. In this way the time passed rapidly till four o'clock arrived, when he summoned his valet-de-chambre. He then proceeded to the state-cabin, and passed the time until dinner in playing at piquet or chess.

The Emperor dictates very rapidly, almost as fast as he speaks in ordinary conversation. I was, therefore, obliged to invent a kind of hieroglyphic writing; and I, in my turn, dictated to my son. I was happy enough to be able to collect almost literally every sentence that fell from him. I had now not a moment to spare; at dinner-time somebody was sure to come and tell me that all the company were seated at table. Fortunately my seat was near the door, which always stood open. I had some time since changed my

place at the request of Captain Ross, the commander of the vessel, who, as he did not speak French, took the opportunity of occasionally asking me the meaning of words: I therefore took my seat between him and the Grand Marshal. Captain Ross was a man of agreeable manners, and was exceedingly kind and attentive to us. I had learnt, according to the English custom, to invite him to take a glass of wine, drinking mine to the health of his wife, and he would then drink to the health of mine. This was our daily practice.

After dinner, the Emperor never failed to allude to his morning dictation, as if pleased with the occupation and amusement it had afforded him. On these occasions, as well as whenever I happened to meet him in the course of the day, he would address me in a jocular tone with:—"Ah! sage "Las Cases!—Illustrious memorialist!—the Sully "of St. Helena;" and other similar expressions. Then he would frequently add: "My dear Las "Cases, these memoirs will be as celebrated as "any that have preceded them. You will sur- "vive as long as any previous memoir-writer. It "will be impossible to dwell upon the great "events of our time, or to write about me without "referring to you." Then resuming his pleasantry, he would add:—"After all, it will be "said, he must have known Napoleon well; he "was his Councillor of State, his Chamberlain,

"his faithful companion. We cannot help be-
"lieving him, for he was an honest man and inca-
"pable of misrepresentation."

Accidental Phenomenon.—Passage of the Line.—Christening.

23d—25th. The west wind still continued, to our great astonishment; it was a sort of phenomenon in these regions, and had hitherto been very much in our favour. But with regard to phenomena, chance produced one of a much more extraordinary kind on the 23d, when we crossed the Line in 0° latitude, 0° longitude, and 0° declination. This is a circumstance which chance alone may perhaps renew only once in a century, since it is necessary to arrive precisely at the first meridian about noon, in order to pass the Line at that same hour, or to arrive there at the same time with the sun.

This was a day of great merriment and disorder among the crew: it was the ceremony which the English sailors call *the Christening*. The sailors dress themselves up in the most grotesque way; one is disguised as Neptune, and all persons on board the ship who have not previously crossed the Line, are formally presented to him; an immense razor is passed over their chins, with a lather made of pitch; buckets of water are thrown over them, and the loud bursts of laughter which accompany their retreat, complete their initiation into the grand mystery. No one is spared;

and the officers are generally more roughly used than the lowest of the sailors. The Admiral, who had previously amused himself by endeavouring to alarm us with the anticipation of this awful ceremony, now very courteously exempted us from the inconvenience and ridicule attending it. We were with every mark of attention and respect presented to the rude god, who paid to each of us a compliment after his own fashion; and thus our trial ended.

The Emperor was scrupulously respected during the whole of this saturnalian festivity, when respect is usually shewn to no one. On being informed of the decorum which had been observed with respect to him, he ordered a hundred Napoleons to be distributed to the grotesque Neptune and his crew, which the Admiral opposed, perhaps from motives of prudence as well as politeness.

Examination of the Antigallican.—Sir Robert Wilson's writings.—Plague at Jaffa.—Anecdotes of the French army in Egypt.—Feelings of the army in the Egyptian Campaign.—Berthier.—Jests of the soldiery.—Dromedaries.—Death of Kleber.—The young Arab.—Singular coincidences respecting Philipeaux and Napoleon.—Circumstances on which Fate depends.—Caffarelli's attachment to Napoleon.—Reputation of the French army in the East.—Napoleon quitting Egypt to assume the government of France.—The English expedition.—Kleber and Desaix.

26th—30th. The weather still continued favourable. Having passed the Line, we momenta-

rily expected to fall in with an east or south-east wind. The continuance of the west wind was extraordinary, and it was impossible it could last much longer. The resolution which the Admiral had adopted of bearing considerably to the East, rendered our situation very favourable, and we had every reason to hope for a short passage.

One afternoon, the sailors caught an enormous shark. The Emperor enquired the cause of the great noise and confusion which he suddenly heard over head; being informed of what had occurred, he expressed a wish to have a sight of the sea-monster. He accordingly went up to the poop, and incautiously approached too near the animal, which by a sudden movement knocked down four or five of the sailors, and had well nigh broke the Emperor's legs. He descended the larboard gangway, covered with blood; we thought he was severely hurt, but it proved to be only the blood of the shark.

My labours advanced with the greatest regularity. The Antigallican, which was the first work I undertook to read, was a volume of five hundred pages, comprising all that had been written in England at the time when that country was menaced with the French invasion. It was the object of the English government to nationalize opposition to that event, and to rouse the whole nation against her dangerous enemy. The book contained a collection of public speeches,

exhortations, patriotic appeals of zealous citizens, satirical songs, sarcastic productions, and highly-coloured newspaper articles, all pouring a torrent of odium and ridicule upon the French and their First Consul, whose courage, genius, and power excited the greatest alarm. This was all perfectly natural and allowable. Productions of this sort are like a shower of arrows thrown by combatants before they come to a close action: some hit, and some are carried away by the wind. Such writings will never afford satisfactory evidence to a man of judgment, and they scarcely merit contradiction.

Pamphleteers are little regarded, because their character is the antidote of their poison: it is not so with the historian. The latter, however, degrades himself to a level with the pamphlet-writer when he departs from the calm dignity and impartiality required for his office, to indulge in declamation, and to steep his pen in gall.

With these feelings I arose from the perusal of the different productions of Sir Robert Wilson, which I read after the Antigallican. This writer did us the greater injury, because his talents, his courage, and his numerous and brilliant services gave him importance in the eyes of his countrymen. A circumstance which I am about to state caused the writings of Sir R. Wilson to be particularly known and spoken of on board the ship.

Sir Robert had a son among the young mid-

shipmen on board the Northumberland, and my son whose similarity of age occasioned him to be much in the society of these youths, could easily observe the change which took place in their opinions with respect to us. They were at first very much prejudiced against us. When the Emperor came on board, they regarded him as an ogre ready to devour them. But on a better acquaintance with us, truth soon exercised over them the same influence which it produced on the rest of the crew. This was, however, at the expense of young Wilson, who was scouted by his companions, by way of expiation for the stories which his father had circulated.

. . . . . .

At this part of the manuscript a great number of leaves are struck out; the reason was explained on the margin, as follows:

"I had collected numerous offensive statements from the writings of Sir Robert Wilson, to which I had perhaps replied with too much bitterness; a recent circumstance has induced me to suppress this portion of my Journal.

"Sir Robert Wilson has lately acted a conspicuous part in a cause which does honour to the hearts of all who were concerned in it: I allude to the saving of Lavalette. Being asked before a French tribunal, whether he had not formerly published works respecting our affairs? he replied in the affirmative, and added, that he

had stated in them what he *then* believed to be true. These words are more to the purpose than any thing I could say; and I therefore hasten to cancel what I have already written; happy in thus having an opportunity to render justice to Sir Robert Wilson, on whose sincerity and good intentions I had, in my indignation, cast reflections."*

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* After my removal from Longwood, Sir Hudson Lowe, who had seized my papers, looked over this Journal, with my permission. He, of course, met with parts which were very displeasing to him; and he said to me: "What a pretty legacy "you are preparing for my children, Count!"—"That is not "my fault," replied I; "it depends only on yourself to render "it otherwise; I shall be happy to have reason to strike out any "thing respecting you, as I did the other day with regard to "Sir Robert Wilson." Upon which he asked me what I had written about Sir Robert, and I pointed out the place. After reading all that had been written, and my reasons for cancelling it, he said, with a thoughtful and mortified air: "Yes, I see; "but I can't tell what to make of it; for I know Wilson well, "and he has proved himself a warm friend of the Bourbons."

We leaped for joy when we heard of the deliverance of Lavalette. Some one observed, that his deliverer, Wilson, could not be the same individual who had written so many offensive things concerning the Emperor. "And why not?" said Napoleon. "You "know but little of men, and the passions that actuate them. "What leads you to suppose that Sir Robert Wilson is not a man "of enthusiasm and violent passions, who wrote what he then "believed to be true? And while we were enemies we contended "with each other; but in our present adversity he knows better: "he may have been abused, and deceived, and may be sorry for "it; and he is perhaps now as sincere in wishing us well as he "formerly was in seeking to injure us."

Either

I therefore set aside the works of Sir Robert Wilson, and the various accusations contained in them; I also suppress the numerous refutations I had collected. I shall merely stop to consider one circumstance which has been repeated in a hundred different works; the report of which has been circulated through Europe, and has obtained credit even in France. I allude to the poisoning of the men infected with the plague at Jaffa.

Certainly nothing can better prove how easily calumny may effect its object. If the voice of slander be bold and powerful, and can command numerous echoes, no matter how far probability, reason, common sense, and truth be violated—the wished-for end is sure to be attained.

A general, a hero, a great man, hitherto respected by fortune, as well as by mankind, at that moment rivetting the attention of three quarters of the globe, commanding admiration even from his enemies, was suddenly accused of a crime declared to be unheard of and unparalleled;

Either sagacity or chance so happily led the Emperor to his conclusion, that it may be said he was enabled to read character at a distance. Sir R. Wilson was indeed the man who wrote against Napoleon. Vexed to see a great people deprived of their natural rights, he reproached the allies as bitterly as though they had imposed chains on himself, and no one has manifested stronger indignation at the treatment of Napoleon, or testified a more ardent wish to see it end.

of an act pronounced to be inhuman, atrocious, and cruel; and what is above all extraordinary, he could have no possible object in committing that crime.

The most absurd details, the most improbable circumstances, the most ridiculous episodes were invented, to give a colouring to this first falsehood. The story was circulated through Europe; malevolence seized it, and exaggerated its enormity; it was published in every newspaper; recorded in every book; and thenceforward was looked upon as an established fact:—indignation was at its height, and clamour universal. It would have been vain to reason, or to attempt to stem the torrent, or to shew that no proofs of the fact had been adduced, and that the story contradicted itself. It would have been vain to bring forward opposite and incontrovertible evidence—the evidence of those very medical men who were said to have administered, or to have refused to administer, the poison. It would have been vain to expose the unreasonableness of accusing of inhumanity the man who, but a short time before, had immortalized the hospitals of Jaffa by an act of the sublimest heroism; risking his own safety by solemnly touching the troops infected with the plague, to deceive and soothe the imaginations of the sick men. In vain might it have been urged that the idea of such a crime could not be affixed on him, who, when consulted by the medical officers as to

the expediency of burning or merely washing the clothes worn by the invalids, and being reminded of the enormous loss attendant on the former measure, replied:—"Gentlemen, I came here to "fix the attention and to recall the interests of "Europe to the centre of the ancient world, and "not with the view of amassing wealth." In vain would it have been shewn that there could be no object, no motive whatever for this supposed crime. Had the French General any reason to suspect a design for corrupting his invalids and converting them into reinforcements against himself? Did he hope that this barbarous act would completely rid him of the infection? He might have effected that object equally well by leaving his invalids to be overtaken by the enemy's troops, which would moreover have been the means of spreading the contagion among the latter. It would have been vain to shew that an unfeeling and selfish chief might have freed himself from all embarrassment by merely leaving the unfortunate men behind him: they would have been massacred, it is true; but no one would ever have thought of addressing a reproach to him.

These and every other argument would have been vain and useless, so powerful and infallible are the effects of falsehood and declamation when the passions of mankind are interested in their propagation. The imaginary crime was repeated by every mouth, was engraven on

every heart, and to the common mass of mankind it will perhaps for ever continue a positive and incontrovertible fact.

A circumstance, which will not a little surprise those who have yet to learn how little credit is due to public report, and which will also serve to shew the errors that may creep into history, is that Marshal Bertrand, who was himself with the army in Egypt, (though certainly in a rank which did not enable him to come into immediate contact with the General-in-chief) firmly believed, up to the period of his residence at Saint Helena, the story of poison having been administered to sixty invalids. The report was circulated and believed even in our army; therefore, what answer could be given to those who triumphantly asserted "it is a fact, I assure you, I have it from "officers who served in the French army at the time"? Nevertheless, the whole story is false. I have collected the following facts from the highest source, from the mouth of Napoleon himself.

1st. That the invalids in question who were infected with the plague, amounted, according to the report made to the General-in-chief, only to *seven* in number.

2d. That it was not the General-in-chief, but a professional man, who, at the moment of the crisis, proposed the administering of opium.

3d. That opium was not administered to a single individual.

4th. That the retreat having been effected slowly, a rear-guard was left behind in Jaffa for three days.

5th. That on the departure of the rear-guard, the invalids were all dead, except one or two, who must have fallen into the hands of the English.

N. B. Since my return to Paris, having had opportunities of conversing with those whose situation and profession naturally rendered them the first actors in the scene—those whose testimony must be considered as official and authentic, I have had the curiosity to enquire into the most minute details, and the following is the result of my enquiries.

"The invalids under the care of the Surgeon-in-chief, that is to say, the wounded, were all, without exception, removed, with the help of the horses belonging to the staff, not excepting even those of the General-in-chief, who proceeded for a considerable distance on foot, like the rest of the army. These, therefore, are quite out of the question.

"With regard to the rest of the invalids, about twenty in number, who were under the care of the Physician-in-chief, and who were in an absolutely desperate condition, totally unfit to be removed, while the enemy was advancing, it is very true that Napoleon asked the Physician-in-chief whether it would not be an act of humanity to administer opium to them. It is also true that the

physician replied, his business was to cure and not to kill; an answer which, as it seems to have reference to an order rather than to a subject of discussion, has, perhaps, furnished a basis on which slander and falsehood might invent and propagate the fabrication which has since been circulated on this subject.

"Finally, the details which I have been able to collect, afford me the following incontestable results:—

"1st. That no order was given for the administering of opium to the sick.

"2d. That there was not at the period in question, in the medicine-chest of the army, a single grain of opium for the use of the sick.

"3d. That even had the order been given, and had there been a supply of opium, temporary and local circumstances, which it would be tedious to enumerate here, would have rendered its execution impossible.

"The following circumstances have probably helped to occasion, and may, perhaps, in some degree excuse, the mistake of those who have obstinately maintained the truth of the contrary facts. Some of our wounded men, who had been put on board ship, fell into the hands of the English. We had been short of medicines of all kinds in the camp, and we had supplied the deficiency by compositions formed from indigenous trees and plants. The ptisans and other medicines had a

horrible taste and appearance. The prisoners, either for the purpose of exciting pity, or from having heard of the opium story, which the nature of the medicines might incline them to believe, told the English that they had miraculously escaped death, having had poison administered to them by their medical officers." So much for the invalids under the care of the Surgeon-in-chief.

Now for the others.—"The army unfortunately had, as Apothecary-in-chief, a wretch who had been allowed the use of five camels to convey from Cairo the quantity of medicines necessary for the expedition. This man was base enough to supply himself on his own account, instead of medicines, with sugar, coffee, wine, and other provisions, which he afterwards sold at an enormous profit. On the discovery of the fraud, the indignation of the General-in-chief was without bounds, and the offender was condemned to be shot; but all the medical officers, who were so distinguished for their courage, and whose attentive care had rendered them so dear to the army, implored his pardon, alleging that the honour of the whole body would be compromised by his punishment; and thus the culprit escaped. Some time after, when the English took possession of Cairo, this man joined them, and made common cause with them; but, having attempted to renew some of his old offences, he was condemned to be hanged, and again escaped by slandering the

General-in-chief Bonaparte, of whom he invented a multitude of horrible stories, and by representing himself as the identical person who had, by the General's orders, administered opium to the soldiers infected with the plague. His pardon was the condition and the reward of his calumnies. This was doubtless the first source whence the story was derived, by those who were not induced to propagate it from malevolent motives.

"Time has, however, fully exposed this absurd calumny, as well as many others which have been applied in the same direction, and that with so great a rapidity, that, on revising my manuscript, I have been surprised at the importance I have attached to the refutation of a charge which no one would now dare to maintain. Still, I thought it best to preserve what I had written, as a testimony of the impression of the moment; and if I have now added some farther details, it is because they happened to lie within my reach, and I thought it important to record them as historical facts."

Sir Robert Wilson has, in his work, boasted with seeming complacency of having been the first to make known and to propagate these odious charges in Europe. His countryman, Sir Sydney Smith, may perhaps dispute this honour with him, particularly as he may, in a great measure at least, justly lay claim to the merit of their

invention. To him, and to the system of corruption he encouraged, Europe is indebted for all the false reports with which she has been inundated, to the great detriment of our brave army of Egypt.

It is well known that Sir Sydney Smith did every thing in his power to corrupt our army.—The false intelligence from Europe—the slander of the General-in-chief—the powerful bribes held out to the officers and soldiers,—were all approved by him: the documents are published, his proclamations are known. At one time they created sufficient alarm in the French General, to induce him to seek to put a stop to them; which he did by forbidding all communication with the English, and stating in the Order of the day that their Commodore had gone mad. This assertion was believed in the French army; and it so much enraged Sir Sydney Smith, that he sent Napoleon a challenge. The General replied, that he had business of too great importance on his hands to think of troubling himself about such a trifle: had he received a challenge from the great Marlborough, then indeed he might have thought it worth while to consider of it: but if the English seaman really felt inclined to amuse himself at a tilting-match, he would send him a tall, bullying grenadier, and neutralize a few yards of the sea-coast, where the mad Commodore might come ashore, and enjoy his heart's content of it.

As I am on the subject of Egypt, I will here note down all the information I collected in my detached conversations, and which may possibly not be found in the Campaign of Egypt, dictated by Napoleon to the Grand Marshal.

The campaign of Italy exhibits all the most brilliant and decisive results to which military genius and conception ever gave birth. Diplomatic views, administrative talents, legislative measures, are there uniformly blended in harmony with the prodigies of war. But the most striking and the finishing touch in the picture, is the sudden and irresistible ascendancy which the young General acquired :—the anarchy of equality—the jealousy of republican principles—every thing vanished before him : there was not a power, even to the ridiculous sovereignty of the Directory, which was not immediately suspended. The Directory required no accounts from the General-in-chief of the army of Italy ; it was left to himself to send them : no plan, no system was prescribed to him ; but accounts of victories, and conclusions of armistices, of the destruction of old states, and the creation of new ones, were constantly received from him.

In the expedition of Egypt may be retraced all that is admired in the campaign of Italy. The reflecting observer will even perceive, that in the Egyptian expedition, the points of resemblance are of a more important nature, from the

difficulties of every kind which gave character to the campaign, and required greater genius and resources on the part of its conductor. In Egypt, a new order of things appeared: climate, country, inhabitants, religion, manners, and mode of fighting, all were different.*

The Memoirs of the Campaign of Egypt will determine points which at the time formed only the subjects of conjecture and discussion to a large portion of society.

1st. The expedition of Egypt was undertaken at the earnest and mutual desire of the Directory and the General-in-chief.

2d. The taking of Malta was not the consequence of a private understanding, but of the wisdom of the General-in-chief. "It was in Mantua "that I took Malta," said the Emperor one day; "it was the generous treatment observed towards "Wurmser, that secured to me the submission of "the Grand Master and his Knights."

3d. The conquest of Egypt was calculated with as much judgment as it was executed with

* The most valuable information respecting these two immortal campaigns will doubtless be furnished by the collection of the orders of the day, and the daily correspondence of the General-in-chief with the Generals and Commissaries of his army. Several volumes of them have been published by Pankouke, under the title of "Corréspondance inédite, officielle, et confidentielle de Napoleon Bonaparte, &c." They will altogether furnish the most happy and useful lessons to the students of the military art.

skill. If Saint Jean d'Acre had surrendered to the French army, a great revolution would have taken place in the east; the General-in-chief would have established an empire there, and the destinies of France would have taken a different turn.

4th. On its return from the campaign of Syria, the French army had scarcely sustained any loss; it remained in the most formidable and prosperous condition.

5th. The departure of the General-in-chief for France was the result of a grand and magnanimous plan. How ridiculous is the imbecility of those who consider that departure as an evasion or a desertion.

6th. Kleber fell a victim to Musulmanic fanaticism. There is not the slightest foundation for the absurd calumny which would have attributed this catastrophe to the policy of his predecessor, or to the intrigues of his successor.

7th, and lastly. It is pretty well proved that Egypt would have remained for ever a French province, if any other but Menou had been appointed for her defence; nothing but the gross errors of that general could have lost us the possession of Egypt.

The Emperor said, that no army in the world was less fit for the Egyptian expedition than that which he led there—the army of Italy. It would be difficult to describe the disgust, the discon-

tent, the melancholy, the despair of that army, on its first arrival in Egypt. The Emperor himself saw two dragoons run out of the ranks and throw themselves into the Nile. Bertrand had seen the most distinguished generals, such as Lannes, and Murat, in momentary fits of rage, throw their laced hats on the sand and trample on them in the presence of the soldiers. The Emperor explained these feelings surprisingly well. "This "army," said he, "had fulfilled its career. All the "individuals belonging to it were satiated with "wealth, rank, pleasure, and consideration; they "were not fit for the Deserts and the fatigues of "Egypt; and," continued he, "had that army "been placed in other hands than mine, it is dif- "ficult to say what excesses might not have "been committed."

More than one conspiracy was formed to carry away the flags to Alexandria, and other things of the same sort. The influence, the character, and the glory of the General, could alone restrain the troops. One day Napoleon, losing his temper in his turn, rushed among a group of discontented generals, and addressing himself to the tallest, "You have held mutinous language," said he, with vehemence, "take care that I do not "fulfil my duty; your five foot ten * should not "save you from being shot in a couple of hours."

* French feet are of course here alluded to.

With regard, however, to their conduct before the enemy, the Emperor said that this army never ceased to be the army of Italy; that it still preserved the same admirable character. The most difficult party to manage was that which the Emperor used to call "the faction of the *sentimental-ists*," whom it was impossible to keep under any restraint; their minds were diseased; they spent the night in gazing on the moon for the reflected image of the idols they had left in Europe. At the head of this party was Berthier, the weak and spiritless Berthier, who, when the General-in-chief was preparing to sail from Toulon, posted night and day from Paris to tell him that he was unwell, and could not follow him, though he was the head of the staff. The General-in-chief took not the smallest notice of what he said, and Berthier, finding himself no longer at the feet of the fair one who had despatched him with the excuse, set sail along with him! On his arrival in Egypt, he became a prey to *ennui*, and was unable to subdue his tender recollections;—he solicited and obtained permission to return to France. He took leave of Napoleon, and bade him a formal adieu; but shortly returned again with his eyes full of tears, saying, that he would not after all dishonour himself, and that he could not separate his destiny from that of his General.

Berthier's love was mingled with a kind of wor-

ship. Adjoining the tent destined for his own use, he always had another prepared, and furnished with the magnificence of the most elegant boudoir; this was consecrated to the portrait of his mistress, before which he would sometimes even go so far as to burn incense. This tent was pitched even in the deserts of Syria. Napoleon said with a smile, that his temple had oftener than once been profaned by a worship less pure, through the clandestine introduction of foreign divinities.

Berthier never relinquished his passion, which sometimes carried him to the very verge of idiocy. In his first account of the battle of Marengo, young Visconti, whose highest rank was that of a captain, was mentioned five or six times in remembrance of his mother. "One would have "thought," said Napoleon, "that the youth had "gained the battle." Surely the General-in-chief must have been ready to throw the paper in the writer's face.

The Emperor calculated that he had given Berthier forty millions during his life; but he supposed that from this weakness of his mind, his want of regularity, and his ridiculous passion, he had squandered away a great part of it.

The discontent of the troops in Egypt happily vented itself in sarcastic jokes: this is the humour which always bears a Frenchman through difficulties. They had a great spite at General Caffarelli, whom they believed to have been one

of the promoters of the expedition. Caffarelli had a wooden leg, having lost one of his limbs on the banks of the Rhine; and whenever the soldiers saw him hobbling past, they would say, loud enough for him to hear—"That fellow does "not care what happens; he is certain, at all "events, to have one leg in France."

The men of science, who accompanied the expedition, also came in for their share of the jests. Asses were very numerous in Egypt; almost all the soldiers possessed one or two, and they used always to call them their *demi-savans*.

The General-in-chief, on his departure from France, had issued a proclamation, in which he informed the troops that he was about to take them to a country where he would make them all rich; where they should each have seven acres of land at their disposal. The soldiers, when they found themselves in the midst of the Desert, surrounded by the boundless ocean of sand, began to question the generosity of their general: they thought he had observed singular moderation in having promised only seven acres. "The "rogue," said they, "might with safety make us "a more unlimited offer; we should not abuse "his good-nature."

While the army was passing through Syria, there was not a soldier but was heard to repeat these lines from Zaire:—

Les Français sont lassés de chercher désormais
Des climats que pour eux le destin n'a point faits,
Ils n'abandonnent point leur fertile patrie,
Pour languir aux déserts de l'aride Arabie.

On one occasion, the General-in-chief, having a few moments leisure to look about the country, took advantage of the ebb-tide, and crossed on foot to the opposite coast of the Red Sea. Night surprised him on his return, and he lost his way in the midst of the rising tide. He was in the greatest danger, and very narrowly escaped perishing precisely in the same manner as Pharaoh. "This," said Napoleon, "would have furnished "all the preachers of Christianity with a splendid "text against me." On reaching the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, he received a deputation of the Cenobites of Mount Sinai, who came to implore his protection, and to request him to inscribe his name on the ancient register of their charters. Napoleon inscribed his name in the same list with those of Ali, Saladin, Ibrahim, and others! In allusion to this circumstance, or something of a similar kind, the Emperor observed that he had in the course of one year received letters from Rome and Mecca; the Pope addressing him as his dearest son, and the Sherif styling him the protector of the holy Kaaba.

This singular coincidence, however, is scarcely surprising, with reference to him who has led armies both through the burning sands of the Tropic,

and over the frozen *Steppes* of the North; who, while he narrowly escaped being swallowed up in the waves of the Red Sea, and might have perished in the flames of Moscow, threatened the Indies from those two extreme points.

The General-in-chief shared the fatigues of the soldiers. The privations endured by every individual in the army were sometimes so great, that they were compelled to dispute with each other for the smallest enjoyments, without the least distinction of rank. To such extremities were they reduced that, in the Desert, the soldiers would hardly relinquish their places to allow the General to dip his hands in a muddy stream. On one occasion, as they were passing by the ruins of Pelusium, and were almost suffocated with the heat, some one resigned to him a fragment of an ancient door, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes; "and this," said Napoleon, "was no trifling concession." It was on this very spot, while removing some stones at his feet, that chance rendered him the possessor of a superb antique, well known in the learned world."*

* A cameo of Augustus, a mere sketch, but admirably designed. Napoleon gave it to General Andreossi, who was a great collector of antiquities; but M. Denon, who was at that time absent, having afterwards seen this cameo, was struck with its resemblance to Napoleon, who then had the stone returned to him and kept it. It afterwards fell into the possession

In proceeding to Asia, the French army had to cross the Desert which separates that continent from Africa. Kleber, who commanded the advance-guard, mistook his road, and lost his way in the Desert. Napoleon, who was following at the distance of half a day's march, attended by a slender escort, found himself at night-fall in the midst of the Turkish camp: he was closely pursued, and escaped only because, it being night, the Turks suspected an ambush was intended. The next source of uneasiness was the doubtful fate of Kleber and his detachment, and the greater part of the night was passed in the most cruel anxiety. At length they got information respecting them from some Arabs of the deserts, and the General-in-chief hastened, on his dromedary, in quest of his troops. He found them overwhelmed with despair, and ready to perish from thirst and fatigue; some of the young soldiers had in a moment of frenzy even broken their musquets. The sight of their General seemed to give them new life, by reviving their hopes. Napoleon informed them that a supply of provisions and water was coming up behind him; "but," said he, to the troops, "if relief had been "longer delayed, would that have excused your

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of Josephine, and M. Denon does not know what has since become of it. *(This information was furnished to me by M. Denon since my return to France.)*

" murmuring and loss of courage ? No, soldiers ;
" learn to die with honour."

Napoleon travelled the greater part of the way through the Desert, on a dromedary. The physical hardihood of this animal renders it unnecessary to pay the least attention to his sustenance; he scarcely eats or drinks;—but his moral sensibility is extreme, harsh treatment provokes his resentment, and renders him furious. The Emperor observed that the roughness of his trot created nausea, like the motion of a ship. The animal will travel twenty leagues a day. The Emperor formed some dromedary regiments, and the use he made of them in the army soon proved the destruction of the Arabs. The rider squats himself on the back of the animal, through whose nostrils a ring is passed, which serves to guide him: he is very obedient, and on a certain signal made by the voice of the rider, the animal kneels down to allow him to alight. The dromedary will carry very heavy burdens, and he is never unloaded during the whole of the journey. On his arrival at evening stations, his load is propped up, and the animal lies down and goes to sleep: at day-break he rises—his burden is on his back, and he is ready to continue his journey. The dromedary is only a beast of burden, and not at all fit for draught. In Syria, however, they succeeded in yoking them to field-pieces, and thus rendering them essentially serviceable.

Napoleon became very popular among the Egyptians, who gave him the name of Sultan Kebir (Father of the Fire). He inspired particular respect; wherever he appeared, the people rose in his presence; and this deference was paid to him alone. The uniform consideration with which he treated the Sheiks, and the adroitness by which he gained their confidence, rendered him truly the sovereign of Egypt, and more than once saved his life. But for the connexion he maintained with the Egyptians, he would have fallen a victim to fanaticism, like Kleber, who, on the contrary, rendered himself odious to the Sheiks, and perished, in consequence of subjecting one of them to the punishment of the bastinado. Bertrand was one of the judges who condemned the assassin, and on his telling us this fact one day at dinner, the Emperor observed :—

" If slanderers, who accuse me of having caused
" the death of Kleber, were acquainted with the
" fact you have mentioned, they would not he-
" sitate to call you the assassin or the accomplice,
" and would take it for granted that your title
" of Grand Marshal, and your residence at Saint
" Helena, are the reward and the punishment of
" the crime."

Napoleon willingly conversed with the people of the country, and always revealed sentiments of justice which struck them with wonder. On his way back to Syria, an Arab tribe came to meet

him, for the double purpose of shewing him respect and of selling their services as guides. "The "chief of the tribe was unwell, and his place was "filled by his son, a youth of the age and make of "your boy here," said the Emperor to me; "he "was mounted on his dromedary, riding close "beside me, and chatting to me with great familiarity.—'Sultan Kebir,' said he, 'I could give "you good advice, now that you are returning to "Cairo.'—'Well! speak, my friend, and if your "advice is good, I will follow it.'—'I'll tell you "what I would do, if I were in your place. As "soon as I got to Cairo, I would order the richest "slave-merchant into the market, and I would "choose twenty of the prettiest women for myself; I would next send for the richest jewellers, "and would make them give me up a good "share of their stock; I would then do the same "with all the other merchants; for what is the "use of reigning or being powerful, if not to "acquire riches!'—'But, my friend, suppose it "were more noble to preserve them for others?' "—This sentiment seemed to make him reflect a "little, without convincing him. The young man "was evidently very promising, for an Arab: he "was lively and courageous, and led his troop "with dignity and order. He is perhaps destined "one day or other to carry his advice into execution in the market-place of Cairo."

On another occasion, some Arabs who were on

friendly terms with the army, penetrated into a village on the frontier, and an unfortunate Fellah (peasant) was killed. The Sultan Kebir flew into a great passion; and vowing that he would have vengeance, gave orders that the tribe should be pursued into the Desert to extinction. This order was given in the presence of the Grand Sheiks, one of whom could not refrain from laughing at his anger and his determination.—"Sultan Kebir," said he, "you are playing a bad "game just now: do not quarrel with these peo- "ple; they can do you ten times more harm than "you can do them. And besides, what is it all "about? Because they have killed a miserable "peasant? Was he your cousin (a proverbial "expression among them)?"—"He was more "than my cousin," replied Napoleon; "all those "whom I govern are my children: power is "given to me only that I may ensure their "safety." On hearing these words, all the Sheiks bowed their heads, and said, "O! that "is very fine!—you have spoken like the "Prophet."

The decision of the Grand Mosque of Cairo in favour of the French army, was a masterpiece of skill on the part of the General-in-chief, who induced the synod of the Grand Sheiks to declare, by a public act, that the Musulmans should obey and pay tribute to the French general. It is the first and only example of the sort since the esta-

blishment of the Koran, which forbids submission to infidels. The details of this transaction are invaluable: they will be found in the Campaigns of Egypt.

Saint Jean d'Acre doubtless presented a singular spectacle, when two European armies met with hostile intentions in a little town of Asia, with the mutual purpose of securing the possession of a portion of Africa; but it is still more extraordinary, that the persons who directed the efforts of each party were both of the same nation, of the same age, of the same rank, of the same corps, and of the same school.

Phelippeaux, to whose talents the English and the Turks owed the preservation of Saint Jean d'Acre, had been the companion of Napoleon at the Military School of Paris: they had been there examined together, previous to their being sent to their respective corps. "His figure resembled "yours," said the Emperor to me, after having dictated his eulogium in the Memoirs, and mentioned all the ill he had done him. "Sire," I answered, "there were many other points of "affinity between us: we had been intimate and "inseparable companions at the Military School. "When he passed through London with Sir Sydney Smith, who by his assistance had been enabled to escape from the Temple, he sought for "me in every direction. I called at his lodgings "only half an hour after he had gone: had it not

" been for this accident, I should probably have " accompanied him. I was at the time without " occupation: the prospect of adventure might " have tempted me; and how strangely might the " course of my destinies have been turned into a " new direction!"

" I am well aware," said Napoleon, " of the in- " fluence which chance usurps over our political " determinations; and it is the knowledge of that " circumstance which has always kept me free " from prejudice, and rendered me very indulgent " with regard to the party adopted by individu- " als in our political convulsions. To be a good " Frenchman, or to wish to become so, was all " that I look for in any one."—The Emperor then went on to compare the confusion of our troubles to battles in the night-time, where each man attacks his neighbour, and friends are often confounded with foes; but when day-light returns, and order is restored, every one forgives the injury which he has sustained through mistake. " Even " for myself," said he, " how could I undertake " to say that there might not have existed circum- " stances sufficiently powerful, notwithstanding " my natural sentiments, to induce me to emi- " grate? The vicinity of the frontier, for instance, a " friendly attachment, or the influence of a chief. " In revolutions, we can only speak with cer- " tainty to what we have done: it is silly to affirm " that we could not have acted otherwise." The

Emperor then related a singular example of the influence of chance over the destinies of men. Serrurier and the younger Hedouville, while travelling together on foot to emigrate into Spain, were met by a military patrol. Hedouville, being the younger and more active of the two, cleared the frontier, thought himself very lucky, and went to spend a life of mere vegetation in Spain. Serrurier, on the contrary, being obliged to return into the interior, bewailed his unhappy fate, and became a marshal:—such is the uncertainty of human foresight and calculations!

At Saint-Jean-d'Acre, the General-in-chief lost Caffarelli, of whom he was extremely fond. Caffarelli entertained a sort of reverential respect for the General-in-chief. The influence of this sentiment was so great, that though he was delirious for several days previous to his death, when Napoleon went to see him, the announcement of his name seemed to recall him to life: he became more collected, his spirits revived, and he conversed coherently; but he relapsed into his former state immediately after Napoleon's departure. This singular phenomenon was renewed every time the General-in-chief paid him a visit.

Napoleon received, during the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, an affecting proof of heroic devotedness. While he was in the trenches, a shell fell at his feet; two grenadiers who observed it, immedi-

ately rushed towards him, placed him between them, and raising their arms above his head, completely covered every part of his body. Happily the shell respected the whole group; nobody was injured.

One of these brave grenadiers afterwards became General Dumesnil, who lost a leg in the campaign of Moscow, and commanded the fortress of Vincennes at the time of the invasion in 1814. The capital had been for some weeks occupied by the Allies, and Dumesnil still held out. Nothing was then talked of in Paris but his obstinate defence, and his humorous reply when summoned by the Russians to surrender;—"Give me back "my leg, and I will give up my fortress."

The French soldiers acquired extraordinary reputation in Egypt, and not without cause; they had dispersed and dismayed the celebrated Mamelucks, the most formidable militia of the East. After the retreat from Syria, a Turkish army landed at Abukir: Murat-Bey, the most powerful and brave of the Mamelucks, left Upper Egypt, whither he had fled for safety, and reached the Turkish camp by a circuitous route. On the landing of the Turks, the French detachments had fallen back in order to concentrate their forces. The Pacha who commanded the Turks was delighted at this movement, which he mistook for the effect of fear; and on perceiving Murat-Bey, he

exultingly exclaimed :—" So ! these are the ter-
" rible French whom you dare not face ; see, the
" moment I make my appearance, how they fly
" before me !" The indignant Murat-Bey furiously replied ;—" Pacha, render thanks to the Prophet
" that it has pleased these Frenchmen to retire ;
" if they should return, you will disappear before
" them like dust before the wind."

This prophecy was fulfilled :—some days after, the French poured down upon the Turkish army and put it to flight. Murat-Bey, who had interviews with several of our generals, could not recover from his surprise at their diminutive stature and pitiful condition. The Oriental nations attach high importance to the formation of the body, and they were unable to conceive how so much genius could exist within such small dimensions. The appearance of Kleber alone came up to their ideas ; he was an uncommonly fine-looking man, but his manners were extremely offensive. The discrimination of the Egyptians induced them to think that he was not a Frenchman ; in fact, though a native of Alsace, Kleber had spent the early part of his life in the Prussian army, and might very well have passed for a German. Some one here observed that he had been a Janissary in his youth ; on which the Emperor burst into a fit of laughter, and said somebody had been hoaxing him.

The Grand-Marshal told the Emperor that at the battle of Abukir he was for the first time placed in his army, and near his person. He was then so little accustomed to the boldness of his manœuvres, that he scarcely understood any of the orders he heard him give. "Particularly, "Sire," added he, "when I heard you call out "to an officer of the Guards, 'Hercule, take "twenty-five men and charge that rabble;' I "really thought I had lost my senses; your "Majesty pointed at the time to a detachment of "perhaps a thousand Turkish horse."

After all, the losses sustained by the army in Egypt were far from being so considerable as might have been expected in a country to which the troops were unaccustomed; particularly when the insalubrity of the climate, the remoteness of the resources of the country, the ravages of the plague, and the numerous actions which have immortalised that army, are taken into account. The French force, at its landing in Egypt, amounted to 30,000 men; it was augmented by the wrecks of the battle of Abukir, and probably also by some partial arrivals from France; and yet the total loss sustained by the army, from the commencement of the campaign to two months after the departure of the General-in-chief for Europe, that is to say, during the space of seven or eight and twenty months, amounted only to

8915, as is proved by the official report of the Muster-master-general of the army.*

The life of a man must indeed be replete with prodigies, when one of his acts, which is without parallel in history, scarcely arrests our attention. When Cæsar passed the Rubicon, he possessed an army, and was advancing towards his defending forces. When Alexander, urged by the ardour of youth and the fire of genius, landed in Asia, to make war on the great King, he, Alexander, was the son of a king, a king himself, and courted the chances of ambition and glory at the head of the forces of his kingdom. But that a private individual, whose name three years before was unknown to the world, who at that moment had nothing to aid him but the reputation of a few victories, his name, and the consciousness of his genius, should have dared to conceive the project of taking into his own hands the destinies of thirty millions of men, of protecting them from external defeats and internal dis-

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* Killed in battle - - - - 3614
Died of their wounds - - - 854
Died through various accidents - - 290
Died from common disorders - - 2468
Died from the pestilential fever - - 1689

Total 8915

Signed,
Sartelon, Muster-master-general.
Cairo, 10 Frimaire, year IX.

sensions;—that, roused by the recital of the troubles which were described to him, and by the idea of the disasters which he foresaw, he should have exclaimed, "France will be lost through "these fine talkers, these babblers; now is the "time to save her!"—that he should have abandoned his army, and crossed the seas, at the risk of his liberty and reputation, have reached the French soil and flown to the capital;—that he should there have seized the helm, and stopped short a nation intoxicated with every excess;—that he should have suddenly brought her back to the true course of reason and justice;—that he should from that moment have prepared for himself a mould of power and glory till then unknown;—and that all this should have been accomplished without the shedding of a single tear or a drop of blood;—Such an undertaking may be regarded as one of the most gigantic and sublime that ever was heard of; it will fill calm and dispassionate posterity with astonishment and admiration; though at the present day it may be qualified with the title of a desperate flight, and an infamous desertion. The army, however, which Napoleon left behind him, continued to occupy Egypt for the space of two years longer. It was the opinion of the Emperor, that it ought never to have been forced unwillingly to remain there; and the Grand Marshal, who accompanied the army to the last moment, concurred in that opinion.

After the departure of the General-in-chief, Kleber, who succeeded him, deceived and misled by intrigues, treated for the evacuation of Egypt; but when the enemy's refusal compelled him to seek for new glory, and to form a more just estimate of his own force, he totally altered his opinions, and declared himself favourable to the occupation of Egypt; and this had even become the general sentiment of the army. He now thought only of maintaining himself in the country; he dismissed those who had influenced him in forming his first design, and collected around him only those who favoured the contrary measure. Had he lived, Egypt would have been secure; to his death her loss must be attributed. The command of the army was afterwards divided between Menou and Regnier. It then became a mere field of intrigue: the energy and courage of the French troops continued unabated; but they were no longer employed and directed as they had been by Kleber.

Menou was totally inefficient; the English advanced to attack him with twenty thousand men; his force was much more considerable, and the general spirit of the two armies was not to be compared. By an inconceivable infatuation, Menou hastily dispersed his troops, as soon as he learned that the English were about to appear; the latter advanced in a mass, and were attacked only in detail. "How blind is fortune!" said the

Emperor; "by the adoption of contrary measures, "the English would infallibly have been destroy-"ed; and how many new chances might not that "event have brought about!"

Their landing was admirable, said the Grand Marshal: in less than five or six minutes five thousand five hundred men appeared in the order of battle: it was a truly theatrical movement; and it was thrice repeated. Their landing was opposed by only twelve hundred men, who did them considerable damage. Shortly after, this mass, amounting to between thirteen and fourteen thousand, was intrepidly attacked by General Lanusse. The General had only three thousand troops; but fired with ambition, and not doubting that his force was adequate to fulfil the object he had in view, he would not wait for reinforcements; at first he overthrew every thing in his way, and after causing immense slaughter to the enemy, he was at length defeated. Had his force been two or three thousand stronger, he would have attained his object.

The English were greatly astonished when they had an opportunity of judging for themselves of our real situation in Egypt; and they considered themselves extremely fortunate in the turn which affairs had taken.

General Hutchinson, who reaped the glory of the conquest, said, on his return to Europe, that had the English known the real state of things,

they would certainly never have attempted to land; but in England it was believed that there were not six thousand French troops in Egypt. This mistake arose out of the intercepted letters, as well as the intelligence that was collected in Egypt. "So natural is it to Frenchmen," said Napoleon, "to exaggerate, murmur, and mis-"represent, whenever they are dissatisfied. These "reports, however, were created merely by ill-"humour or diseased imaginations: it was said "that there was a famine in Egypt; that the "French had all been destroyed, at every "new battle; that the plague had swept away "the whole army; that there was not a man "left," &c.

Through the repetition of these reports, Pitt was at length persuaded of their reality; and how could it be otherwise? The First Consul saw the despatches from his successor addressed to the Directory; and also letters from various persons in the French army. Who can explain the contradictions they contained? Who will henceforth trust to individual authority for the support of his opinion? Kleber, the General-in-chief, informed the Directory, that he had only six thousand men; while in the same packet the accounts of the inspector at reviews exhibited upwards of twenty thousand. Kleber declared that he was without money, and the treasury accounts display vast sums. The General-in-chief alleged

that the artillery was merely an intrenched park, destitute of ammunition; while the estimates of that department made mention of provisions for several campaigns. "Thus, if Kleber, by virtue "of the treaty he commenced, had evacuated "Egypt," said the Emperor, "I should un- "doubtedly have brought him to trial on his "return to France. All these contradictory do- "cuments had been submitted to the examina- "tion and opinion of the Council of State."

From the letters of Kleber, the General-in-chief, an idea may be formed of the tone of those written by persons of inferior rank, and by the common soldiers. Such, however, were the communications daily intercepted by the English; which they printed and which guided them in their operations—a circumstance that must frequently have led them into grievous errors. The Emperor observed, that in all his campaigns he had seen the same effect produced by intercepted letters, which sometimes had proved of great advantage to him.

Among the letters which at this period fell into his hands, he found odious attacks upon himself, which he felt the more sensibly, because several of them were written by persons whom he had loaded with benefits, in whom he had reposed full confidence, and whom he believed to be strongly attached to him. One of these individuals, whose fortune he had made, and in whom

he trusted with the utmost sincerity, alleged that the General-in-chief had decamped, after robbing the treasury of two millions. Fortunately, in these same despatches the accounts of the Paymaster proved that the General had not even received the whole amount of the pay due to him. "On reading this statement," said the Emperor, "I felt really disgusted at man-"kind. This was the first moral revulsion I had "ever experienced; and if it has not been the "only one, it has, perhaps, been at least the "most severe. Many individuals in the army "thought me ruined, and they were already "eagerly seeking to pay their court in the proper "quarter at my expense." The author of the assertion above alluded to, subsequently endeavoured to restore himself to favour. The Emperor signified that he should have no objection to his being employed in a subordinate situation; but that he would never see him again. To every application he constantly replied, that he did not know him: this was the only vengeance he took.

The Emperor never ceased to repeat that Egypt ought to have remained in the possession of the French, which would infallibly have been the case, had the country been defended by Kleber or Desaix. "These were my two most distinguished "lieutenants," said he; "both possessed great "and rare merits, though their characters and

" dispositions were very different." Their portraits will be found in the Memoirs of the Campaign of Italy.

Kleber's was the talent of nature; Desaix's was entirely the result of education and assiduity. The genius of Kleber was only called forth at particular moments, when roused by the importance of the occasion; and then it immediately slumbered in the bosom of indolence and pleasure. The talent of Desaix was always in full activity; he lived only for noble ambition and true glory: his character was formed on the true ancient model. The Emperor said, that his death was the greatest loss he could possibly have sustained. Their conformity of education and principles would always have preserved a good understanding between them. Desaix would have been satisfied with secondary rank, and would have remained ever devoted and faithful. Had he not been killed at the battle of Marengo, the First Consul would have given him the command of the army of Germany, instead of continuing it to Moreau. A very extraordinary circumstance in the destiny of these two lieutenants of Napoleon was, that on the very day and at the very hour when Kleber was assassinated at Cairo, Desaix was killed by a cannon-ball at Marengo.

The Emperor's method of dictating.

October 1st—3d. The wind, the sea, and the temperature still continued without variation. The westerly wind, which had at first been so much in our favour, now began to be adverse. We had taken an easterly direction, in the hope of falling in with the trade-winds; but we now found ourselves to the leeward of the place of our destination, through the continuance of the westerly winds, a circumstance which surprised every body, and excited dissatisfaction among the crew.

The Emperor every morning regularly continued his dictation, in which he daily took a deeper interest: consequently his hours henceforth seemed less tedious.

The vessel had been sent so hurriedly out of port, that many repairs remained to be completed after we had put to sea, and the painting of the ship had only recently been finished. The Emperor's sense of smelling is extremely delicate; and he found the paint so extremely offensive, that he was forced to confine himself to his cabin for two days.

Every evening, when taking his walk on deck, he loved to revert to the occupation of the morning. At first he was assisted by no other document than a wretched work entitled *Guerres des*

Français en Italie, written without end or object, and devoid of any connected chronological plan. The Emperor glanced through it, and his memory supplied all deficiencies: this faculty indeed appeared to me the more extraordinary, since it always seemed to be in readiness when needed, and as if at command.

When the Emperor commenced his daily dictations, he always complained that the circumstances to which he wished to recur were no longer familiar to him. After considering for a few moments he would rise and walk about, and then begin to dictate. From that moment he was quite another man: every thing flowed smoothly; he spoke as if by inspiration; places, dates, phrases, he stopped at nothing.

On the following day I read to him what he had dictated. After making the first correction he continued to go on with the same subject, as though he had said nothing about it the day before.—The difference between the first and the second version was very great: the latter was more positive and diffuse, and better arranged; indeed it sometimes materially differed from the first.

On the day succeeding the first correction, the same operation was repeated, and the Emperor commenced his third dictation for the purpose of setting the two former ones right. But after that, had he dictated a fourth, a seventh, or a tenth time, as he in some instances did, it would have been a

repetition of precisely the same ideas, the same construction of phrases, and almost the same words. It was needless to take the trouble to write, though before his eyes: he paid no attention to what was doing, and continued to the end of his subject. It would have been vain to ask him to repeat any thing that might not have been distinctly heard; and as he dictated with great rapidity, I never ventured to interrupt him, lest I should lose still more, and render him unable to recover the thread of the subject.

A singular Accident.

4th—7th. The continuance of the south-west wind was truly unfortunate. We were now going back instead of forward, and we had completely entered the Gulf of Guinea. There we perceived a ship, with which we spoke. She proved to be a French ship, driven out of her course like ourselves. She had sailed from a port in Britany, and was bound for the Isle of Bourbon. The Emperor had been much distressed for want of books; and I jokingly said that perhaps I might have a box-full on board that ship, as I had despatched one to the Isle of Bourbon about two months previously. I spoke truly. Such is the caprice of chance! Had I been in quest of this ship, I might have traversed the ocean in vain. This was the identical vessel: I learned her name

next day from the officer who had visited her. This officer strangely surprised the French captain, by telling him that the Emperor Napoleon was on board the ship which he then saw making way to St. Helena. The poor fellow shook his head sorrowfully and said, " You have robbed us " of our treasure ; you have taken away him who " knew how to govern us according to our tastes " and manners."

Complaints of the Crew against the Admiral.—Examination of another work.—Refutations.—Reflections.

8th—11th. The weather continued obstinately settled. We every evening consoled ourselves for the unfavourable state of the day, with the hope of a change during the night; but we arose in the morning with the same disappointment. We had been almost within sight of the Congo, and we stood off. Every one manifested discontent and *ennui*. The crew complained of the Admiral; had he taken the usual course, said they, we should have reached our destination long before; his caprice, they observed, had led him, in spite of reason, to try an experiment, of which they knew not what might be the consequence. Their murmurs were not, however, so vehement as those raised against Christopher Columbus; we should not have been ill pleased had he been reduced to the necessity of finding another Saint-Salvador, in order to evade the crisis. Being for

my own part fully occupied, this circumstance engrossed but little of my attention; and after all, one prison was as good as another. As to the Emperor, he was still more unconcerned by this delay; he merely looked upon it as so many days spent.

Les Mémoires de Napoleon Bonaparte, par quélqu'un qui ne l'a jamais quitté pendant 15 *ans, (The Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, by one who was constantly near him, during fifteen years,)* was the title of a work which I began to examine after the writings of Sir Robert Wilson. It is a volume of three hundred pages, by an anonymous author, a circumstance in itself sufficient to inspire distrust at the first outset. But the composition and style of the work soon create more positive doubts in the mind of the reflecting reader, who is accustomed to judge of books. Finally, he who has seen and known but little of the Emperor, will not hesitate to affirm, that this work is a mere romance written at pleasure; that the author has never approached the Emperor; and that he is a hundred leagues distant from his language, habits, and every thing concerning him. The Emperor never said to a minister: "Count, do this,"—"Count, execute that." Ambassadors never attended his levee. Napoleon could not, at fourteen years of age, have made to a lady in company, the reply attributed to him, relative to the Vicomte de Turenne; because from the age of ten to

eighteen he was attending the Military School, where he could not possibly have been introduced to the company of ladies. It was not Perignon, who did not know him, but Dugommier, who had been his General, who recommended him in so marked a way to the Directory. It was a letter for restoring the Democracy, and not the Bourbons, which an officer addressed to the First Consul, &c.

The Emperor, who in Europe was universally acknowledged to have preserved the most impenetrable secresy with regard to his plans and views, never indulged in gestures, and still less in monologues, which would have been likely to betray him:—nor did his anger ever throw him into fits of insanity or epilepsy, an absurd fabrication which was long circulated in the salons of Paris, but which was relinquished when it was found that those accidents never occurred on important occasions. These memoires have unquestionably been an ordered work, the speculation of some bookseller who has furnished the title. Be this as it may, it might have been supposed that in adverting to a career so public as that of the Emperor and of those who surrounded him, the author might have evinced more accuracy and knowledge of his subject. He is aware of his insufficiency on this head, and seeks to defend himself by saying that he was under the necessity of altering names, and that he did not wish to render certain portraits too striking; but he also

observes this circumspection with regard to facts, so that they are not recognisable. They are for the most part entirely the creations of his own fancy. Thus, the paper whose loss cost the General-in-chief so much anxiety in Egypt; the recommendation of the young Englishman, who transported Bonaparte with joy by opening to him so brilliant a perspective of fortune at Constantinople; the melodrama of Malmaison, where the heroism of Madame Bonaparte (who is described as an absolute amazon) so promptly secures the safety of her husband, may perhaps excite the interest of the reader; but they are only so many fables; and the story relative to Malmaison shews, that the author knew no more of the character and disposition of the Empress Josephine than of those of the Emperor. The writer, however, by extolling certain traits, praising certain actions, and refuting certain falsehoods, assumes an air of impartiality, which, joined to his pretended situation near the Emperor during fifteen years, produces a wonderful effect in the eyes of common readers. Most of the Englishmen on board the vessel looked upon this work as a kind of oracle. Their opinion was not changed on finding the Emperor's character so different from that attributed to him in this romance. They were inclined to believe that adversity and constraint had wrought an alteration in the Emperor, rather than to suppose that these

printed statements were false. To my observations they constantly replied:—"But the author was "an impartial man, and one who was about the "Emperor for fifteen years!"—"But," said I, "what is this man's name? If he had personally "injured you in his book, how could you bring "him to justice? Any body here might have "written it!" These arguments were of course unanswerable; but the English found great difficulty in overcoming their first impressions: such are the common mass of readers, and such is the effect inevitably produced by printed falsehoods!

But I shall no longer continue my examination of a work which is not deserving of farther notice; I therefore dispense with the remainder. On revising my manuscript in Europe, I found that public opinion had made such progress, that I should be ashamed to waste time in refuting allegations and facts, which judgment and common sense have long since rejected, and which are now repeated only by fools.

In endeavouring to subvert the erroneous notions which this author thought proper to create respecting the character of Napoleon, it will perhaps be thought that I should substitute my own opinions in their stead; but this I shall carefully avoid. I shall content myself with noting down all that I saw and heard; I will report his conversations, and nothing more must be expected.

12th—13th. By dint of patience, and with the help of a few trifling variations, we gradually approached the termination of our voyage; and though deprived of the natural monsoon, we had now advanced within a short distance of our place of destination. As we continued our course, the weather gradually improved, and at length the wind became perfectly favourable; but this change did not take place until twenty-four hours before our arrival.

14th.—The Admiral had previously informed us that he expected to come within sight of Saint-Helena this day. We had scarcely risen from table when our ears were saluted with the cry of *Land!* This was just within a quarter of an hour of the moment that had been fixed on. Nothing can better prove the advancement of navigation, than this sort of miracle, by which seamen are enabled to foretell the hour at which they shall arrive at a particular point in the vast expanse. The Emperor went on the forecastle to see the island; he thought he perceived it, but I could see nothing. We lay-to all night.

Arrival at Saint-Helena.

15th. At day-light I had a tolerably near view of the island. At first I thought it rather extensive; but it seemed to diminish considerably as we approached. At length, about seventy days after our departure from England, and a hundred

and ten after our departure from Paris, we cast anchor about noon. This was the first link of the chain that was to bind the modern Prometheus to his rock.

We found at anchor several of the vessels of our squadron, which had separated from us, or which we had left behind. They had, however, arrived several days before us: another proof of the extreme uncertainty attending nautical calculations.

The Emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early and went upon deck; he went forward on the gangway to view the island. We beheld a kind of village surrounded by numerous barren and naked hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every hill, was planted with cannon. The Emperor viewed the prospect through his glass. I stood behind him. My eyes were constantly fixed on his countenance, in which I could perceive no change; and yet he saw before him, perhaps, his perpetual prison!—perhaps, his grave!....How much, then, remained for me to feel and to witness!

The Emperor soon left the deck. He desired me to come to him, and we proceeded to our usual occupation.

The Admiral, who had gone ashore very early, returned about six o'clock, much fatigued. He had been walking about various parts of the island, and at length thought he had found a

habitation that would suit us. The place, however, stood in need of repairs which might occupy two months. We had now been confined to our wooden dungeon for nearly three months; and the precise instructions of the ministers were, that we should be detained there until our prison on shore was ready for our reception. The Admiral, to do him justice, was incapable of such barbarity; he informed us, at the same time betraying a sort of inward satisfaction, that he would take upon himself the responsibility of putting us ashore next day.

RESIDENCE AT BRIARS.

FROM THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1815, THE DAY OF OUR LANDING AT SAINT-HELENA, TO THE 9TH OF DECEMBER, THE DAY PRECEDING THAT OF OUR REMOVAL TO LONGWOOD.

An interval of a Month and Twenty-four Days.

Landing of the Emperor at Saint-Helena.

OCT. 16th.—After dinner, the Emperor, accompanied by the Grand Marshal, got into a boat to go ashore. By a remarkable and irresistible impulse, the officers all assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. This was not the effect of curiosity, which an acquaintance of three months duration could not fail to have removed, and which was now succeeded by the liveliest interest. The Emperor, before he stepped into the boat, sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce a great sensation on all by whom they were understood, or to whom they

were interpreted. The remainder of the Emperor's suite landed about eight o'clock. We were accompanied by several of the officers, and every one on board seemed to be sincerely affected at our departure.

We found the Emperor in the apartment which had been assigned to him; a few minutes after our arrival he went up-stairs to his chamber, where we were called to attend him. His situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel; we found ourselves lodged in a sort of inn or hotel.

The town of Saint-Helena consists only of one very short street, or row of houses, built along a very narrow valley, formed between two hills, on the summit of a barren rock.

The Emperor fixes his abode at Briars.—Description of the place.—Miserable situation.

17th.—At six o'clock in the morning the Emperor, the Grand Marshal, and the Admiral, rode out on horseback to visit Longwood, a house which had been chosen for the Emperor's residence, and was more than two leagues from the town. On their return they saw a small villa situated in the valley about two miles from the town. The Emperor was extremely reluctant to return to the place where he had passed the preceding night, and where he felt himself more completely secluded from the world than he had been when on

board the vessel. What with the sentinels who guarded his doors, and the crowds of persons whom curiosity had attracted beneath his windows, he had been obliged to confine himself to his chamber. A small pavilion, attached to the villa above-mentioned, pleased him, and the Admiral was of opinion that he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. In this place, therefore, the Emperor fixed his residence, and immediately sent for me. He had become so much interested in his work on the campaigns of Italy, that he could not suspend it:—I immediately proceeded to join him.

The little valley, in which the village of Saint-Helena is situated, extends to a considerable distance up the island, winding along between two chains of barren hills which enclose it on either side. A good carriage-road runs through this valley to the distance of about two miles; after which it is traced along the brow of the hill which rises on the left, while nothing but precipices and gulfs are discoverable on the right. The rugged aspect of the country here gradually diminishes, and the road opens on a small level height, on which are several houses interspersed with trees and different kinds of vegetation: this is a little oasis amidst the rocky desert. Here is situated the modest residence of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island. At the distance of thirty or forty paces from the dwelling-

house, on a pointed eminence, stood a little summer-house or pavilion, to which, in fine weather, the family were accustomed to retire to take tea and amuse themselves: this was the obscure retreat hired by the Admiral, as the temporary residence of the Emperor; and he took possession of it in the morning. As I was ascending the winding path leading to the pavilion, I thought I perceived the Emperor, and stopped to look at him. It was Napoleon himself: his body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back; he wore his usual neat and simple uniform, and his celebrated little hat. He was standing at the threshold of the door when I advanced to salute him. "Ah!" said he, "here you are! "Why have you not brought your son?"—"Sire," I replied, "the respect, the consideration I owe "you prevented me."—"Oh, you must learn to "dispense with that," continued he; "bring your "son to me."

In none of his campaigns, perhaps in no situation of his past life, had the Emperor been so wretchedly lodged, or subject to so many privations. The summer-house contained one room nearly square on the ground-floor, having two doors facing each other on two of its sides, and two windows on each of the other sides. These windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. The Emperor was at this moment alone; his two valets-

de-chambre were bustling about to prepare his bed. He took a fancy to walk a little; but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of stone and rock. He took my arm, and began to converse in a cheerful strain. Night was advancing; profound silence, undisturbed solitude, prevailed on every side;—what a crowd of sensations and sentiments overwhelmed me at this moment!—I was in this desert, *tête-à-tête*, and enjoying familiar conversation with the man who had ruled the world!—with Napoleon! What were my feelings! —— But to understand them it would be necessary to revert to the days of his past glory; to the time when one of his decrees sufficed to subvert thrones and create kings! It would be necessary to reflect on what he was to all who surrounded him at the Tuileries: the timid embarrassment, the profound respect, with which he was approached by his ministers and officers; the anxiety, the dread of ambassadors, princes, and even kings! With me all these sentiments remained in full force.

When the Emperor was about to retire to rest, we found that one of the windows (which, as I have already observed, had neither shutters nor curtains) was close upon his bed, nearly on a level with his face. We barricadoed it as well as we could, so as to exclude the air, of the effects of which the Emperor is very susceptible, the

least draught being sufficient to give him cold or the tooth-ache. For my part I ascended to the upper story, immediately above the Emperor's room. In this place, the dimensions of which were about seven square feet, there was only a bed, and not a single chair: this served as a lodging for me and my son, for whom a mattress was spread out upon the floor. But how could we complain, being so near the Emperor? we could hear the sound of his voice and distinguish his words! The valets-de-chambre slept on the ground, across by the door, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such is the faithful description of the first night which Napoleon passed at Briars.

Description of Briars.—The Garden.—The Emperor meets the young ladies of the house.

18th.—I breakfasted with the Emperor: he had neither table-cloth nor plates; and the remains of the preceding day's dinner were brought to him for breakfast.

The English officer was lodged in the neighbouring house, as our guard, and two inferior officers marched up and down with an air of military parade before our eyes, for the purpose of watching our motions. Breakfast being over, the Emperor proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him some hours. He afterwards took a fancy to explore our new domain, and to take a view of the surrounding grounds.

Descending our hillock on the side facing the principal house, we found a path bordered by a hedge, and running at the foot of precipices. After walking along the path to the distance of two hundred paces, we arrived at a little garden, the door of which was open. This garden is long and narrow, and formed on very uneven ground; but a tolerably level walk extends the whole length of it. At the entrance there is a sort of arbour at one extremity; and at the other, are two huts for the negroes whose business it is to look after the garden. It contains some fruit-trees and a few flowers. We had no sooner entered the garden, than we were met by the daughters of the master of the house, girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age: the one sprightly, giddy, and caring for nothing; the other more sedate, but, at the same time, possessing great *naïveté* of manner; both speak a little French. They had walked through the garden, and put all the flowers under contribution, to present them to the Emperor, whom they overwhelmed with the most whimsical and ridiculous questions. The Emperor was much amused by this familiarity, to which he was so little accustomed. "We have "been to a masked ball," said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave.

The youth of France.—The Emperor visits Mr. Balcombe's house.

19th—20th. The Emperor invited my son to breakfast: it may be easily imagined that he was greatly overjoyed at this honour! It was, perhaps, the first time he had ever been so near the Emperor, or had spoken to him; and he was not a little flurried on the occasion.

The table still remained without a cloth; the breakfast continued to be brought from the town, and consisted of only two or three wretched dishes. To-day a chicken was brought: the Emperor wished to carve it himself, and to help us. He was astonished at finding that he succeeded so well; it was long, he said, since he done so much; for all his politeness, he added, had been lost in the business and cares of his Generalship of Italy.

Coffee is almost a necessary of life to the Emperor; but here it proved so bad, that on tasting it he thought himself poisoned. He sent it away, and made me send away mine also.

The Emperor was at this moment using a snuff-box set with several ancient medals, which were surrounded by Greek inscriptions. The Emperor, not being certain of the name of one of the heads, asked me to translate the inscription; and on my replying that it was beyond my powers, he laughed and said, "I see you are no better a

"scholar than myself." My son then tremblingly undertook the task, and read Mithridates, Demetrius-Poliorcetes, and some other names. The extreme youth of my son, and this circumstance, attracted the Emperor's attention. "Is your son "so far advanced?" said he; and he began to question him at great length respecting his Lyceum, his masters, his lessons, &c. Then turning to me, "What a rising generation I leave behind me!" said he. "This is all my work! The merits of "the French youth will be a sufficient revenge "to me. On beholding the work, all must render "justice to the workman! and the perverted "judgment or bad faith of declaimers must fall "before my deeds. If I had thought only of "myself, and securing my own power, as has "been continually asserted, I should have endeavoured to hide learning *under a bushel;* "instead of which I devoted myself to the propagation of knowledge. And yet the youth of "France have not enjoyed all the benefits which "I intended they should. My University, according to the plan I had conceived, was a "masterpiece in its combinations, and would "have been such in its national results. But an "evil-disposed person spoiled all; and in so doing "he was actuated by the worst of feelings, and "doubtless, by a calculation of consequences."

In the evening the Emperor went to visit our neighbours. Mr. Balcombe, who was suffering

under a fit of the gout, lay stretched on a sofa.; his wife and the two young ladies, whom we had met in the morning, were beside him. The *masked ball* was resumed again with great spirit. Our guests liberally dealt out all their store of knowledge. The conversation turned on novels. One of the young ladies had read Madame Cottin's *Mathilde*, and was delighted to find that the Emperor was acquainted with the work. An Englishman, with a great round face, to all appearance a true *vacuum plenum*, who had been listening earnestly, in order to turn his little knowledge of French to the best account, modestly ventured to ask the Emperor whether the Princess, the friend of Matilda, whose character he particularly admired, was still living? The Emperor with a very solemn air replied, "No, sir; she is dead "and buried:" and he was almost tempted to believe he was himself hoaxed, when he found that the melancholy tidings drew tears from the great staring eyes of the Englishman.

The young ladies evinced no less simplicity, though in them it was more pardonable; however, I was led to conclude that they had not studied chronology very deeply. One of them turning over Florian's *Estelle*, to shew us that she could read French, happened to light on the name of Gaston de Foix, and finding him distinguished by the title of General, she asked the Emperor whether he had been satisfied with his conduct in the

army, whether he had escaped the dangers of war, and whether he was still living.

21st.—In the morning the Admiral came to visit the Emperor. He knocked at the door; and had I not been present, the Emperor must have been reduced to the alternative of opening it himself, or suffering the Admiral to wait on the outside.

All the scattered members of our little colony, likewise, came from the town, and we were for a short time collected together. Each described the wretchedness of his situation, and received the sympathy of the Emperor.

Horror and misery of our situation.—The Emperor's indignation.—Note to the English Government.

23d—24th. The English ministers, in violating the rights of hospitality, to which we had trusted with such implicit confidence, seem to have omitted nothing to make us feel this violation the more bitterly. By banishing us to the farther extremity of the world, and reducing us to every kind of privation and ill-treatment, they wish to make us drain the cup of misery to the very dregs. Saint-Helena is a true Siberia: the only difference is its limited extent, and the climate being warm instead of cold.

The Emperor Napoleon, who but lately possessed such boundless power, and disposed of so many crowns, now occupies a wretched hovel, a few feet square, perched upon a rock, unprovided

with furniture, and without either shutters or curtains to the windows. This place must serve him for bed-chamber, dressing-room, dining-room, study, and sitting-room; and he is obliged to go out when it is necessary to have this one apartment cleaned. His meals, consisting of a few wretched dishes, are brought to him from a distance, as though he were a criminal in a dungeon. He is absolutely in want of the necessaries of life: the bread and wine are not such as we have been accustomed to, and are so bad that we lothe to touch them: water, coffee, butter, oil, and other articles, are either not to be procured, or are scarcely fit for use: a bath, which is so necessary to the Emperor's health, is not to be had; and he is deprived of the exercise of riding on horseback.

His friends and servants are two miles distant from him, and are not suffered to approach his person without being accompanied by a soldier.—They are deprived of their arms, and are compelled to pass the night at the guard-house, if they return beyond a certain hour, or if any mistake occur in the pass-word, which happens almost daily. Thus, on the summit of this frightful rock, we are equally exposed to the severity of man and the rigour of nature! And how easy would it have been to procure us a more suitable retreat and more courteous usage.

Assuredly, if the Sovereigns of Europe decreed this exile, private enmity has directed its

execution. If policy alone dictated this measure as indispensable, would it not have been essential, in order to render the fact evident to the world, to have surrounded with every kind of respect and consideration the illustrious victim, with regard to whom it had been found necessary to violate law and principle?

We were all assembled round the Emperor; and he was recapitulating these facts with warmth: "For what infamous treatment are we reserved!" he exclaimed. "This is the anguish of death! "To injustice and violence, they now add insult "and protracted torment. If I were so hateful "to them, why did they not get rid of me? A "few musquet balls in my heart or my head "would have done the business; and there would "at least have been some energy in the crime! "Were it not for you, and, above all, for your "wives, I would receive from them nothing but "the pay of a private soldier. How can the mo- "narchs of Europe permit the sacred character "of sovereignty to be violated in my person? "Do they not see that they are, with their own "hands, working their own destruction at Saint- "Helena? I entered their capitals victorious, "and had I cherished such sentiments, what "would have become of them? They styled me "their brother; and I had become so by the "choice of the people, the sanction of victory, "the character of religion, and the alliances of

" their policy and their blood. Do they imagine " that the good sense of nations is blind to " their conduct? and what do they expect from " it? At all events, make your complaints, gen- " tlemen, let indignant Europe hear them! Com- " plaints from me would be beneath my dignity " and character; I must command, or be silent."

Next morning an officer, gently opening the door, introduced himself, without farther ceremony, into the Emperor's room, where I was engaged with him. He had come, however, with good intentions. He was the captain of one of the small vessels which had formed our squadron. He was now about to return to Europe, and came to enquire whether the Emperor had any commands. Napoleon immediately recurred to the subject of our conversation on the preceding evening, and, becoming animated by degrees, gave utterance to sentiments of the loftiest and most energetic character, which he charged him to communicate to the British government. I interpreted what he said in the same spirit and with great rapidity. The officer seemed astonished at what he heard, and left us with a promise punctually to fulfil his commission. But he could not have described the expression, and particularly the tone, of which I was a witness. —The Emperor, however, directed me to make a memorandum of what he had said, which the officer must have found very feebly expressed

compared with what he had just heard. The note was as follows:—

Memorandum.—"The Emperor desires, by the return of the next vessel, to receive some account of his wife and son, and to be informed whether the latter is still living. He takes this opportunity of repeating and conveying to the British government the protestations which he has already made against the extraordinary measures adopted towards him.

"1st. That Government has declared him a prisoner of war. The Emperor is not a prisoner of war. His letter to the Prince Regent, which he wrote and communicated to Captain Maitland, before he went on board the Bellerophon, sufficiently proves, to the whole world, the resolutions and the sentiments of confidence which induced him freely to place himself under the English flag.

"The Emperor might, had he pleased, have agreed to quit France only on stipulated conditions with regard to himself; but he disdained to mingle personal considerations with the great interests with which his mind was constantly occupied. He might have placed himself at the disposal of the Emperor Alexander, who had been his friend, or of the Emperor Francis, who was his father-in-law. But, confiding in the justice of the English nation, he desired no other protection than its laws afforded; and, renouncing public

affairs, he sought no other country than that which was governed by fixed laws, independent of private will.

" 2d. Had the Emperor really been a prisoner of war, the rights which civilized governments possess over such a prisoner, are limited by the law of nations, and terminate with the war itself.

" 3d. If the English government considered the Emperor, though arbitrarily, as a prisoner of war, the right of that government was then limited by public law, or else, as there existed no cartel between the two nations during the war, it might have adopted towards him the principles of savages, who put their prisoners to death. This proceeding would have been more humane, and more conformable to justice, than that of sending him to this horrible rock; death inflicted on board the Bellerophon, in the Plymouth roads, would have been a blessing compared with the treatment to which he is now subjected.

" We have travelled over the most desolate countries of Europe, but none is to be compared to this barren rock. Deprived of every thing that can render life supportable, it is calculated only to renew perpetually the anguish of death. The first principles of Christian morality, and that great duty imposed on man to pursue his fate, whatever it may be, may withhold him from terminating with his own hand a wretched existence; the Emperor glories in being supe-

rior to such a feeling. But if the British ministers should persist in their course of injustice and violence towards him, he would consider it a happiness if they would put him to death."

The vessel which sailed for Europe, with this document, was the Redpole, Captain Desmond.

The reader must pardon the insipid monotony of our complaints: they will be found to be always the same, no doubt; but let it be remembered how much more pain must have been felt in repeating them, than can possibly be experienced in their perusal.

Mode of living at Briars.—Cabinet which the Emperor had with him at Austerlitz.—The Emperor's large Cabinet.—Its contents.—Articles of Vertú, Libels against Napoleon, &c. infamous conduct of persons at the Tuileries.

25th—27th. The Emperor dressed very early; he took a short walk out of doors; we breakfasted about ten o'clock; he walked again, and then we proceeded to business. I read to him what he had dictated on the preceding evening, and which my son had copied in the morning; he corrected it, and then continued his dictation. We went out again about five o'clock, and returned at six, the hour appointed for dinner, that is to say, if the dinner should be brought from the town by that time. The days were very long, and the evenings still longer. Unfortunately I did not understand chess; at one time I had an idea of studying it by

night, but where could I find a teacher? I pretended to a little knowledge of piquet; but the Emperor soon discovered my ignorance: he gave me credit for my good intentions, yet he gave up playing. Want of occupation would sometimes lead him to the neighbouring house, where the young ladies made him play at whist. But his more usual practice was to remain at table after dinner, and to converse sitting in his chair; for the room was too small to admit of his walking about.

One evening he ordered a little travelling cabinet to be brought to him, and after minutely examining every part of it, he presented it to me, saying, "I have had it in my possession a long "time, I made use of it on the morning of the "battle of Austerlitz. It must go to young "Emanuel," said he, turning to my son; "when "he is thirty or forty years old, we shall be no "more. This will but enhance the value of the "gift; he will say when he shews it, the Emperor "Napoleon gave this to my father at Saint-"Helena." I received the precious gift with a kind of reverential feeling, and I preserve it as a valuable relic.

Passing from that to the examination of a large cabinet, he looked over some portraits of his own family, and some presents which he had personally received. These consisted of the portraits of Madame, of the Queen of Naples, of the daughters of Joseph, of his brothers, of the King of Rome,

&c. An Augustus and a Livia, both exceedingly rare; a Continence of Scipio and another antique of immense value given to him by the Pope; a Peter the Great, on a box; another box with a Charles V.; another with a Turenne; and some, which were in daily use, covered with a collection of medallions of Cæsar, Alexander, Sylla, Mithridates, &c. Next came some snuff-boxes, ornamented with his own portrait set in diamonds. He then looked for one without diamonds, and not finding it, he called his valet-de-chambre to enquire about it: unfortunately this portrait still remained in the town along with the greater part of his effects; I felt mortified at receiving this intelligence, I could not help thinking that I had been a loser by this mischance.

The Emperor then examined several snuff-boxes which Louis XVIII. had left on his table at the Tuileries at the time of his precipitate departure. On one of these were represented on a black ground, the portraits of Louis XVI., of the Queen, and of Madame Elizabeth, executed in paste in imitation of ivory, and fantastically arranged. They formed three crescents placed back to back in the shape of an equilateral triangle, and groups of cherubs closely interwoven composed the external border. Another box presented a water-colour sketch of a hunt, which had no other claim to merit than the circumstance of its being attributed to the pencil of the Duchess of Angoulême.

A third was surmounted with a portrait, which appeared to be that of the Countess de Provence. These three boxes were of simple and even ordinary execution; and could possess no other value than that which their history attaches to them.

On the Emperor's arrival in Paris on the evening of the 20th of March, he found the King's study precisely in the state in which it had been used; all his papers still remained on the tables. By the Emperor's desire, these tables were pushed into the corners of the apartment, and others brought. He gave orders that nothing should be touched, intending to examine the papers at his leisure; and as the Emperor himself quitted France without returning to the Tuileries, the King must have found his study and his papers nearly as he had left them.

The Emperor took a hasty glance at some of the papers. He found among them several letters from the King to M. d'Avarai at Madeira, where the latter died; they were written in the King's own hand, and had doubtless been sent back to him. He found also some confidential letters of the King, likewise in his own hand. But how came they there? How had they been returned to him? That would be difficult to explain. They consisted of five or six pages, written in very elegant language, and displaying some sense; but very abstract and metaphysical. In one of them, the Prince said to the lady

whom he addressed :— "*Judge, Madam, how much I love you; I have left off mourning for your sake.*" "And here," said the Emperor, "the idea "of the mourning was followed up by a succes- "sion of long paragraphs, quite in an academic "style." The Emperor could not imagine to whom it had been written, or what the *mourning* alluded to; I could not assist his conjectures on either of these points.

Two or three days after the Emperor had replaced a certain individual at the head of a celebrated institution, he found on one of the tables a memoir from that very person, which, from the terms in which it was couched with reference to himself and the whole of his family, would certainly have prevented him from signing the reappointment.

There were also many other documents of the same nature; but the most complete records of baseness, deceit, and villainy, were found in the apartments of M. Blacas, grand-master of the wardrobe, and minister of the household: these were filled with plans, reports, and petitions of every kind. There were few of these papers in which the writers did not put themselves forward at the expense of Napoleon, whom they were far from expecting to return. They formed altogether such a mass, that the Emperor was obliged to appoint a committee of four persons to examine them; he now thinks he was to blame in not

having confided that office to a single individual, and with such injunctions that he might have felt confident nothing was suffered to escape. He has since had reason to believe that these papers might have afforded some salutary hints respecting the treachery which surrounded him on his return from Waterloo.

Among the rest there was a long letter from one of the female attendants of the Princess Pauline. This voluminous letter was expressed in very coarse language with regard to the princess and her sisters; and described the Emperor, to whom the writer always alluded under the title of *that man*, in the worst possible colours. This had not been thought sufficient; part of it had been erased and interlined by another hand, in order to bring forward Napoleon in the most scandalous manner; and on the margin, in the hand of the interlineator, were written the words, *fit to be printed*. A few days afterwards, probably, this libel was published.

An upstart woman, who held a distinguished rank in the state, and who had been overwhelmed with acts of kindness from the Emperor, wrote in a great hurry to her friend to acquaint her with the famous decision of the Senate respecting the forfeiture and proscription of Napoleon. The letter contained the following: "My dear friend, my "husband has just returned: he is tired to death; "but his efforts have carried it; we are delivered

"from *that man*, and we shall have the Bour-
"bons. Thank God, we shall now be real Coun-
"tesses!" &c.

Among these papers, Napoleon experienced the mortification to meet with some containing very improper remarks respecting himself personally; and those too in the very hand-writing of individuals who only the day before had assembled round him, and were already in the enjoyment of his favours.

The first impulse of his indignation was to determine that they should be printed, and to withdraw his protection: a second thought restrained him. "We are so volatile, so inconstant, so "easily led away," said he, "that, after all, I "could not be certain that those very people had "not really and spontaneously come back to my "service: in that case, I should have been pu-"nishing them at the very time when they were "returning to their duty. I thought it better to "seem to know nothing of the matter, and I or-"dered all their letters to be burnt."

The Emperor commences the Campaign of Egypt with the Grand Marshal.—Anecdotes of Brumaire, &c.—Letter of the Count de Lille.—The beautiful Duchess de Guiche.

28th—31st. My son and I prosecuted our labours without intermission. His health, however, began to be affected: he felt a pain in his chest.

My eyes also grew weak: these were really the effects of our excessive occupation. Indeed, we had gone through an amazing quantity of work: we had already nearly arrived at the end of the Campaign of Italy.* The Emperor, however, did not yet find that he had sufficient occupation. Employment was his only resource, and the interest which his first dictations had assumed furnished an additional motive for proceeding with them. The Campaign of Egypt was now about to be commenced. The Emperor had frequently talked of employing the Grand Marshal on this subject.

* I have still in my possession some of the Emperor's first dictations. They were afterwards considerably varied and amplified; yet these first drafts are not the less valuable, were it only for the sake of comparing them with the ideas which subsequently occurred to the Emperor. For this reason, I cannot resist the desire of publishing them in this journal. The transcript of the Emperor's dictations will be found scattered through this work, without any regard to order. Unluckily I have but very few of them. On my removal from Longwood, and the seizure of my papers, the Emperor claimed all those relating to the Campaigns of Italy, to prevent them from falling into the hands of Sir H. Lowe. I sent to the Emperor all I could collect; but I afterwards found among my papers some other sheets relative to the same subject. At the moment of my departure, I requested the Emperor to permit me to keep them in remembrance of him. He replied that he consented with pleasure, being satisfied that they would be as safe in my hands as in his own. None of the contents of these sheets transpired so long as I had the happiness to hope that the Emperor would communicate to me any commands relative to the Campaigns of Italy.

Those of our party who were lodged in the town were badly accommodated, and were dissatisfied at being separated from the Emperor. They were harassed by the constraint and mortifications to which they were subjected. I suggested to the Emperor that he should set us to work altogether, and proceed at once with the Campaigns of Italy and Egypt, the history of the Consulate, the return from the Island of Elba, &c. The time, I observed, would then pass more quickly; the great work, the glory of France, would advance more rapidly, and the gentlemen who resided in the town would be less unhappy. The idea pleased the Emperor, and from that moment one or two of his suite came regularly every day to write to his dictations, the transcript of which they brought to him next morning. They then stayed to dinner, and thus afforded the Emperor a little more amusement than usual.

We made such arrangements that the Emperor insensibly found himself more comfortably situated in many respects. A tent, which had been given to me by the Colonel of the 53d regiment, was spread out so as to form a prolongation of the room occupied by the Emperor. Our cook took up his abode at Briars. The table-linen was taken from the trunks, the plate was set forth, and our first dinner after these preparations was a sort of *fête*. The evenings however always hung heavily

on our hands. The Emperor would sometimes visit the adjoining house ; at other times he would endeavour to leave his chamber to walk ; but more frequently he remained within-doors, and tried to pass the time in conversation until ten or twelve o'clock. He avoided retiring to bed too early; for when he did so, he awoke in the night; and in order to divert his mind from sorrowful reflections, he was obliged to rise and read.

One day at dinner the Emperor cast his eyes on one of the dishes of his own campaign-service, on which the Imperial arms were engraved. "How they have spoiled this!" he exclaimed emphatically; and he could not refrain from observing that the King had been in a great hurry to take possession of the Imperial plate, which he certainly could not claim as his property, since it unquestionably belonged to him; for, he added, that when he ascended the throne he found not a vestige of royal property. At his abdication he left to the crown five millions in plate, and between forty and fifty millions in furniture, which was all his own property, purchased out of his civil list.

In a conversation one evening the Emperor related the circumstances attending the event of Brumaire. I suppress the particulars, because they were afterwards dictated to General Gourgaud ; and a detailed account of this remarkable affair will be found in the Memoirs.

Sieyes, who was one of the Provisional Consuls along with Napoleon, astonished to hear his colleague, on the very first conference, discussing questions relative to finance, administration, the army, law, and politics, left him quite disconcerted, and ran to his friends, saying, "Gentlemen, "you have got a master! This man knows every "thing, wants every thing, and can do every "thing."

I was in London at that time, and I told the Emperor that the emigrants there had formed great hopes and placed much confidence on the events of the 18th of Brumaire and on his Consulate. Several of us, who had formerly been acquainted with Madame de Beauharnais, immediately set out for Paris, hoping, through her means, to exercise some influence, or give some direction to affairs, which then appeared under a new aspect.

Our general opinion at the time was, that the First Consul had waited for propositions from the French Princes. We rested our hopes on the circumstance of his having been so long without coming to a decision respecting them; which, however, he did some time afterwards in a way the most overwhelming, by means of a proclamation. We attributed this result to the stupid conduct of the Bishop of Arras, the counsellor and director of our affairs: who, according to his own confession, went to work with his eyes shut, and

boasted of not having read a single newspaper for a series of years, ever since they had been filled, as he said, with the successful enterprises and the falsehoods of that wretched party. On the first establishment of the Consulate, some one having attempted to persuade the Bishop to enter into negotiations with the Consul, through the mediation of Madame Bonaparte, he rejected the proposition with indignation, and in language of so coarse and disgusting a nature, as induced the person to tell him that his expressions were far from being episcopal, and that he certainly had never learned them from his breviary.

About the same period he made use of some gross invectives against the Duc de Choiseuil,—that too at the table of the Prince, where he was smartly reprimanded for them; and all this was only because the Duke, on being released from imprisonment at Calais, and escaping death through the protection of the Consul, concluded his reply to the enquiries made by the Prince relative to Bonaparte, by protesting that, for his part, he should never cease to acknowledge his personal gratitude towards him.

To all this the Emperor replied, that he had never bestowed a thought on the Princes; that the observations to which I had alluded, proceeded from one of the other Consuls, and were made without any particular motive; that we, who were abroad, seemed to have no idea of the opi-

nions of those at home; and that even if he had been favourably disposed towards the Princes, it would not have been in his power to carry his intentions into execution. He had, however, received overtures, about that period, both from Milan and London. *Milton*

The King, he said, wrote him a letter, which was conveyed to him by Lebrun, who had it from the Abbé de Montesquiou, the secret agent of the Prince at Paris. This letter, which was written in a very laboured style, contained the following paragraph: "You delay long to restore me my "throne. It is to be feared that you may allow "favourable moments to escape. You cannot "complete the happiness of France without me, "nor can I serve France without you. Hasten, "then, and specify yourself the places which you "would wish your friends to possess."

To this letter the First Consul replied:—"I have "received your Royal Highness's letter; I have "always felt deep interest in your misfortunes and "those of your family. You must not think of "appearing in France; you could not do so with-"out passing over a hundred thousand dead "bodies. I shall, however, be always eager to "do every thing that may tend to alleviate your "fate, or enable you to forget your misfortunes."

The overtures made by the Count d'Artois possessed still more elegance and address. He commissioned as the bearer of them the Duchess

de Guiche, a lady whose fascinating manners and personal graces were calculated to assist her in the important negotiation. She easily got access to Madame Bonaparte, with whom all the individuals of the old Court came easily in contact. She breakfasted with her at Malmaison; and the conversation turning on London, the emigrants, and the French princes, Madame de Guiche mentioned that as she happened a few days before to be at the house of the Count d'Artois, she had heard some person ask the Prince what he intended to do for the First Consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons; and that the Prince had replied:—"I would immediately make him "Constable of the kingdom, and every thing else "he might choose. But even that would not be "enough: we would raise on the Carrousel a lofty "and magnificent column, surmounted with a "statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons."

As soon as the First Consul entered, which he did very shortly after breakfast, Josephine eagerly repeated to him the circumstance which the Duchess had related. "And did you not re-"ply," said her husband, "that the corpse of the "First Consul would have been made the pe-"destal of the column?"—The charming Duchess was still present; the beauties of her countenance, her eyes, and her words, were directed to the success of her commission. She said she was so delighted, she did not know how she should ever

be able sufficiently to acknowledge the favour which Madame Bonaparte had procured her, of seeing and hearing so distinguished a man—so great a hero. It was all in vain: the Duchess de Guiche received orders that very night to quit Paris. The charms of the emissary were too well calculated to alarm Josephine, to induce her to say any thing very urgent in her favour, and next day the Duchess was on her way to the frontier.

It is, however, absolutely false that Napoleon, on his part, at a subsequent period, made overtures or propositions to the Princes touching the cession of their rights, or their renunciation of the crown; though such statements have been made in some pompous declarations, profusely circulated through Europe.—"How was such a thing "possible?" said the Emperor;—"I, who could "only reign by the very principle which ex- "cluded them—that of the sovereignty of the "people—how could I have sought to possess "through them rights which were proscribed in "their persons? That would have been to pro- "scribe myself. The absurdity would have been "too palpable, too ridiculous; it would have "ruined me for ever in public opinion. The fact is, "that neither directly or indirectly, at home or "abroad, did I ever do any thing of the kind; "and this will, no doubt, in the course of time, "be the opinion of all persons of judgment, who

" allow me to have been neither a fool nor a mad-
" man.

" The prevalence of this report, however, in-
" duced me to seek to discover what could have
" given rise to it, and these are the facts which I
" collected :—At the period of the good under-
" standing between France and Prussia, and
" while that state was endeavouring to ingrati-
" ate herself in our favour, she caused inquiry to
" be made, whether France would take umbrage
" at her allowing the French Princes to remain in
" the Prussian territories, to which the French
" Government answered in the negative. Em-
" boldened by this reply, Prussia next inquired,
" whether we should feel any great repugnance to
" furnishing them, through her medium, with an
" annual allowance. To this our Government also
" replied in the negative, provided that Prussia
" would be responsible for their remaining quiet,
" and abstaining from all intrigue. The negotia-
" tion of this affair being once set on foot between
" the two countries, Heaven knows what the
" zeal of some agent, or even the doctrines of the
" Court of Berlin, which did not accord with
" ours, may have proposed.—This furnished, no
" doubt, the motive and pretext, if, indeed, any
" really existed, for the fine letter of Louis
" XVIII., to which all the members of his family
" so ostentatiously adhered. The French Princes
" eagerly seized that opportunity of reviving the

" interest and attention of Europe, which had " been by this time totally withdrawn from them."

Occupations of the day.—Council of State.—Disgrace of Portalis.—Dissolution of the Legislative Body in 1813. *—The Senate.*

November 1—4. Our days now passed away in the same uniformity as those which we spent on board the vessel. The Emperor summoned me to breakfast with him about ten or eleven o'clock. That meal being concluded, after half an hour's conversation, I read to him what he had dictated the evening before, and he renewed his dictations. The Emperor discontinued his practice of dressing as soon as he rose, and walking before breakfast, which had broken up his day too much, and rendered it too long. He never dressed now till about four o'clock. He then walked out, to give the servants an opportunity of making his bed, and cleaning his room. We walked in the garden, which he particularly liked, on account of its solitude. I had the little arbour covered with a canvass, and ordered a table and chairs to be placed in it; and the Emperor henceforward chose this spot for dictating to any of the gentlemen who might come from the town for that purpose.

In front of Mr. Balcombe's house there was a walk bordered by some trees. It was here that the two English soldiers had posted themselves

for the purpose of watching us. They were, however, at length removed, at the desire of Mr. Balcombe, who felt offended at the circumstance on his own account. Nevertheless, they still continued for some time to move about, so as to get a sight of the Emperor; either attracted by curiosity, or acting in obedience to their orders. At length they entirely disappeared, and the Emperor gradually took possession of this lower walk. This was quite an acquisition to his domain; and he walked here every day before dinner. The two young ladies, with their mother, joined him in this walk, and told him the news. He sometimes returned to the garden after dinner, when the weather permitted; he was then enabled to spend the evening without paying a visit to his neighbours, which he never did when he could avoid it, nor ever till he was satisfied no stranger was there, which I always ascertained previously, by peeping through the window.

In one of his walks, the Emperor conversed a great deal on the subject of the Senate, the Legislative Body, and particularly the Council of State. I will here note down some remarks relative to the Council of State, the more readily, as it was very little understood at the time in the drawing-rooms of Paris; and as it does not now exist on the same footing as formerly, I shall insert, as I proceed, a few lines on its mechanism and prerogatives.

"The Council of State," said the Emperor, "was generally composed of well-informed, skil-"ful, and honest men. Fermont and Boulay, "for example, were certainly of this class. Not-"withstanding the immense law-suits which they "conducted, and the vast emoluments they en-"joyed, I should not be surprised to learn that "they are not now in very flourishing circum-"stances." The Emperor employed the counsellors of state individually in every case, and with advantage. As a whole, they were his real council—his mind in deliberation, as the ministers were his mind in execution. At the Council of State were prepared the laws which the Emperor presented to the Legislative Body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the Council, the Emperor's decrees and his rules of public administration were drawn up; and there the plans of his ministers were examined, discussed, and corrected.

The Council of State received appeals and pronounced finally on all administrative judgments; and incidentally on those of all other tribunals, even those of the Court of Cassation. There, were examined, complaints against the ministers, and appeals from the Emperor to the Emperor better informed. Thus the Council of State, at which the Emperor uniformly presided, being frequently in direct opposition to the ministers,

or occupied in reforming their acts and errors, naturally became the point of refuge for persons or interests aggrieved by any authority whatever. All who were ever present at the meetings of the council, must know with what zeal the cause of the citizens was there defended. A committee of the Council of State received all the petitions of the empire, and laid before the sovereign those which deserved his attention.

With the exception of lawyers and persons employed in the administration, it is surprising how far the rest of society were ignorant of our political legislation. No one had a correct idea of the Council of State, of the Legislative Body, or of the Senate. It was received, for example, as an established fact, that the Legislative Body, like an assembly of mutes, passively adopted, without the least opposition, all the laws which were presented to it; that which belonged to the nature and excellence of the institution, was attributed to its complaisance and servility.

The laws which were prepared in the Council of State, were presented by commissaries chosen from that council to a committee of the Legislative Body appointed to receive them; they were there amicably discussed, and were often quietly referred back to the Council of State to receive some modifications. When the two deputations could not come to an understanding, they proceeded to hold regular conferences, under the

presidency of the arch-chancellor or the arch-treasurer; so that before these laws reached the Legislative Body, they had already received the assent of the two opposite parties. If any difference existed, it was discussed by the two committees, in the presence of the whole of the Legislative Body, performing the functions of a jury; which, as soon as its members had become sufficiently acquainted with the facts, pronounced its decision by a secret scrutiny. Thus every individual had an opportunity of freely giving his opinion, as it was impossible to know whether he had put in a red or a white ball. "No plan," said the Emperor, "could have been better cal-"culated to correct our national effervescence "and our inexperience in matters of political li-"berty."

The Emperor asked me whether I thought the discussion perfectly free in the Council of State, or whether his presence did not impose a restraint on the deliberations? I reminded him of a very long debate, during which he had remained throughout singular in his opinion, and had at last been obliged to yield. He immediately recollected the circumstance. "Oh, yes," said he, "that "must have been in the case of a woman of Am-"sterdam, who had been tried for her life and "acquitted three several times by the Imperial "Courts, but against whom a fresh trial was de-"manded in the Court of Cassation." The Em-

peror hoped that this happy concurrence of the law might have exhausted its severity in favour of the prisoner; that this lucky fatality of circumstances might have turned to her advantage. It was urged in reply, that he possessed the beneficent power of bestowing pardon; but that the law was inflexible, and must take its course. The debate was a very long one. M. Muraire spoke a great deal, and very much to the point; he persuaded every one except the Emperor, who still remained singular in his opinion, and at length yielded, with these remarkable words:— "Gentlemen, the decision goes by the majority "here, I remain single, and must yield; but I "declare, in my conscience, that I yield only to "forms. You have reduced me to silence, but by "no means convinced me."

So little was the nature of the Council of State understood by people in general, that it was believed no one dared utter a word in that assembly in opposition to the Emperor's opinion. Thus I very much surprised many persons, when I related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the Emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone: "I have "not yet done; I beg you will allow me to con- "tinue. I believe every one here has a right to "deliver his opinion." The smartness of this

reply, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the Emperor himself joined.

" Yet," said I to him, " the speakers evidently " sought to discover what might be your Majesty's " opinion: they seemed to congratulate themselves " when their views coincided with yours, and to " be embarrassed on finding themselves maintain- " ing opposite sentiments. You were accused, too, " of laying snares for us, in order to discover our " real opinion." However, when the question was once started, self-love and the warmth of argument contributed, along with the freedom of discussion which the Emperor encouraged, to induce every one to maintain his own opinion. " I do not mind " being contradicted," said the Emperor; "I seek " to be informed. Speak boldly," he would repeat; whenever the speaker expressed himself equivocally, or the subject was a delicate one; " tell " me all that you think; we are alone here; we " are all *en famille*."

I have been informed, that under the Consulate, or at the commencement of the Empire, the Emperor opposed an opinion of one of the members, and through the warmth and obstinacy of the latter, the affair at length amounted absolutely to a personal misunderstanding. Napoleon commanded his temper, and was silent; but a few days after, seeing his antagonist at one of the public audiences, he said to him in a half-earnest man-

ner, "You are extremely obstinate; and what if "I were equally so!—— At all events, you are "in the wrong to put power to the trial! You "should not be unmindful of human weakness!"

On another occasion, he said in private to one of the members who had likewise driven him to the utmost extreme, "You must take a little "more care to manage my temper. You were "lately very much out: you obliged me to have "recourse to scratching my forehead. That is "a very ominous sign with me: you had better "not urge me so far for the future."

Nothing could equal the interest which the presence and the words of the Emperor excited in the Council of State. He presided there regularly twice a week when he was in town, and then none of us would have been absent for the whole world.

I told the Emperor that there were two sittings in particular which had made the deepest impression on me: one relating to internal regulation on the expulsion of a member, when the whole council was of one opinion; the other was on the occasion of the dissolution of the Legislative Body by a Constitutional decision.

A religious party was fomenting civil discord in the State, by secretly circulating bulls and letters from the Pope. They were shown to a Counsellor of State, appointed to superintend religious worship; and who, if he did not himself

circulate them, at least neither prevented nor denounced their circulation. This was discovered, and the Emperor suddenly challenged him with the fact in open Council. "What could have been "your motive, sir?" said he: "were you influ- "enced by your religious principles? If so, why "are you here? I use no control over the con- "science of any man. Did I force you to become "my Counsellor of State? On the contrary, you "solicited the post as a high favour. You are the "youngest member of the Council, and perhaps the "only one who has not some personal claim to that "honour; you had nothing to recommend you but "the inheritance of your father's services. You "took a personal oath to me; how could your re- "ligious feelings permit you openly to violate that "oath, as you have just now done? Speak, how- "ever; you are here in confidence: your colleagues "shall be your judges. Your crime is a great one, "sir. A conspiracy for the commission of a violent "act is stopped as soon as we seize the arm that "holds the poniard. But a conspiracy to influ- "ence the public mind has no end: it is like a "train of gunpowder. Perhaps, at this very mo- "ment, whole towns are thrown into commotion "through your fault!" The Counsellor, quite confused, said nothing in reply: the first appeal was sufficient to establish the fact. The members of the council, to the majority of whom this event was quite unexpected, were struck with asto-

nishment, and observed profound silence.—"Why," continued the Emperor, "did you not, "according to the obligation imposed by your oath, "discover to me the criminal and his plots? Am I "not at all times accessible to every one of you?" "Sire," said the Counsellor, at length venturing to reply, "he was my cousin."—"Your crime is "then the greater, sir," replied the Emperor sharply; your kinsman could only have been placed in "office at your solicitation: from that moment all "the responsibility devolved on you. When I look "upon a man as entirely devoted to me, as your "situation ought to render you, all who are connected with him, and all for whom he becomes "responsible, from that time require no watching. "These are my maxims." The accused member still remained silent, and the Emperor continued: "The duties which a Counsellor of State owes "to me are immense. You, sir, have violated "those duties, and you hold the office no longer. "Begone: let me never see you here again!" The disgraced Counsellor, as he was withdrawing, passed very near the Emperor: the latter looked at him and said, "I am sincerely grieved at this, "sir, for the services of your father are still fresh in "my memory." When he was gone, the Emperor added, "I hope such a scene as this may never "be renewed; it has done me too much harm.—"I am not distrustful, but may become so! I "have allowed myself to be surrounded by every

"party; I have placed near my person even emi-
"grants and soldiers of the army of Condé; and
"though it was wished to induce them to assassi-
"nate me; yet, to do them justice, they have con-
"tinued faithful. Since I have held the reins of Go-
"vernment, this is the first individual employed
"about me, by whom I have been betrayed." And then turning towards M. Locré, who took notes of the debates of the Council of State, he said, "write "down *betrayed*—do you hear?"

What an interesting collection were those reports of M. Locré! What has become of them? All that I have here related would be found in them word for word.

With respect to the dissolution of the Legislative Body, the Council of State was convoked either on the last day, or the last day but one, of December, 1813. We knew that the debate would be an important one, without, however, knowing its object: the crisis was of the most serious nature, the enemy was entering on the French territory.

"Gentlemen," said the Emperor, "you are "aware of the situation of affairs, and the dangers "to which the country is exposed. I thought it "right, without being obliged to do so, to forward "a private communication on the subject to the "Deputies of the Legislative Body. I wished thus "to have associated them with their dearest inte-"rests; but they have converted this act of my

"confidence into a weapon against me; that is to "say, against the country. Instead of assisting "me with all their efforts, they seek to obstruct "mine. Our attitude alone would be sufficient to "check the advance of the enemy, while their con- "duct invites him; instead of showing him a front "of brass, they unveil to him our wounds. They "stun me with their clamorous demands for peace, "while the only means to obtain it was to recom- "mend war; they complain of me, and speak of "their grievances; but what time, what place do "they select for so doing? These are subjects to "be discussed in private, and not in the presence "of the enemy. Was I inaccessible to them? Did "I ever show myself incapable of arguing rea- "sonably? It is time, however, to come to a reso- "lution: the Legislative Body, instead of assisting "me in saving France, wishes to accelerate her "ruin. The Legislative Body has betrayed its "duty—I fulfil mine—I dissolve it!"

He then ordered the reading of a decree, the purport of which was that two-fifths of the Legislative Body had already gone beyond their power; that on the 1st of January another fifth would be in the same situation, and that consequently the majority of the Legislative Body would then be composed of members who had no right to be in it; that, in consideration of these circumstances, it was, from that moment, prorogued

and adjourned, until fresh elections should be made.

After the reading of this document, the Emperor continued: "Such is the decree which I "issue; and were I assured that it would bring the "people of Paris in a crowd to the Tuileries to "murder me this very day, I would still issue it; "for such is my duty. When the people of France "placed their destinies in my hands, I took into "consideration the laws by which I was to govern "them: had I thought those laws insufficient, I "should not have accepted them. I am not a "Louis XVI. Daily vacillations must not be ex-"pected from me. Though I have become Em-"peror, I have not ceased to be a citizen. If "anarchy were to resume her sway, I would abdi-"cate and mingle with the crowd to enjoy my share "of the sovereignty, rather than remain at the head "of a system in which I should only compromise "all, without being able to protect any one. Be-"sides," concluded he, "my determination is con-"formable to the law; and if every one here will do "his duty this day, I shall be invincible behind the "shelter of the law as well as before the enemy." But, alas! every one did not perform his duty!

Contrary to the received opinion, the Emperor was far from being of an arbitrary temper, and he was so willing to make concessions to his Council of State, that he has frequently been known to

submit to discussion, or even to annul a decision that he had adopted, because one of the members might afterwards privately advance new arguments, or hint that the personal opinion of the Emperor had influenced the majority. Let the chiefs of the sections be referred to on this head.

The Emperor was accustomed to communicate to members of the Institute every scientific idea that occurred to him, and also to submit his political ideas to Counsellors of State: he often did this with private, and even secret views. It was a sure way, he said, to try a question; to ascertain the powers of a man and his political inclination; to take measure of his discretion, &c. I know that in the year XII. he submitted to three Counsellors of State the consideration of a very extraordinary question: namely, the suppression of the Legislative Body. It was approved by the majority; but one opposed it strenuously; he spoke at great length, and much to the purpose. The Emperor, who had listened to the discussion with great attention and gravity, without uttering a single word, or suffering any indication of his opinion to escape him, closed the sitting by observing, "A question of so serious a nature de-"serves to be maturely considered; we will "resume the subject." But it was never again brought forward.

It would have been well had he adopted the same precautions at the time of the suppression

of the Tribunate; for that has always continued to be a great subject of declamation and reproach. As for the Emperor, he viewed it merely as the suppression of an expensive abuse, and an important economical measure.

"It is certain," said he, "that the Tribunate "was absolutely useless, while it cost nearly "half a million; I therefore suppressed it. I was "well aware that an outcry would be raised "against the violation of the law; but I was "strong: I possessed the full confidence of the "people, and I considered myself a reformer. "This at least is certain, that I did all for the "best. I should, on the contrary, have created "the Tribunate, had I been hypocritical or evil-"disposed; for, who can doubt that it would "have adopted and sanctioned when necessary, "my views and intentions? But that was what "I never sought after in the whole course of my "administration. I never purchased any vote or "decision by promises, money, or places! and if "I distributed favours to ministers, counsellors "of state, and legislators, it was because there "were things to give away, and it was natural "and even just that they should be dealt out "among those whose avocations brought them in "contact with me.

"In my time, all constituted bodies were pure "and irreproachable; and I can firmly declare "that they acted from conviction. Malevolence

" and folly may have asserted the contrary; but " without ground. If those bodies were con- " demned, it was by persons who knew them " not, or wished not to know them; and the re- " proaches that were levelled at them, must be " attributed to the discontent or opposition of the " time; and above all, to that spirit of envy, " detraction, and ridicule, which is so peculiarly " natural to the French people.

" The Senate has been much abused; great " outcry has been raised against its servility and " baseness; but declamation is not proof. What " was the Senate expected to do? To refuse con- " scripts? Was it wished that the Committees of " personal liberty and the liberty of the press " should have brought disgrace upon the Govern- " ment? or that the Senate should have done " what was done in 1813 by a committee of the " Legislative Body? But where did that measure " lead us? I doubt whether the French people " are now very grateful for it. The truth is, that " we were placed in forced and unnatural cir- " cumstances: men of understanding knew this, " and accommodated themselves to the urgency " of the moment. It is not known that in almost " every important measure, the senators, before " they gave their vote, came to communicate to " me privately, and sometimes very decidedly, " their objections, and even their refusal; and " they went away convinced either by my argu-

" ments or by the necessity and urgency of affairs.
" If I never gave publicity to this fact, it was
" because I governed conscientiously, and be-
" cause I despised quackery, and every thing
" like it.

" The votes of the Senate were always unani-
" mous, because their conviction was universal.
" Endeavours were made at the time to cry up an
" insignificant minority, whom the hypocritical
" praises of malevolence, together with their own
" vanity, or some other perversity of character,
" excited to harmless opposition. But did the
" individuals composing that minority evince, in
" the last crisis, either sound heads or sincere
" hearts? I once more repeat, that the character
" of the Senate was irreproachable; the moment
" of its fall was alone disgraceful and culpable.
" Without right, without power, and in violation
" of every principle, the Senate surrendered
" France, and accomplished her ruin. That
" body was the sport of high intriguers, whose
" interest it was to discredit and degrade it, and to
" ruin one of the great bases of the modern system.
" It may be truly said that they succeeded com-
" pletely; for I know of no body that can be re-
" corded in history with more ignominy than the
" French Senate. However, it is but just to ob-
" serve, that the stain rests not on the majority,
" and that among the delinquents there was a

"multitude of foreigners, who will henceforth "at least be indifferent to our honour and in- "terests."

On the arrival of the Count d'Artois, the Council of State exerted every effort to attract his attention, and secure his favour. A deputation of the Council was twice presented to him, and permission was solicited to send one to meet the King at Compiègne. To this solicitation the Lieutenant-general of the kingdom replied, that the King would willingly receive the individual members of the Council; but that the sending of a deputation was a thing not to be thought of. It is true that the *gros bonnets*, that is to say, the Chiefs of the Sections, were absent. All this agitation had no other object than to insure the payment of their salary, and, perhaps, the retainment of their places. Thus the Council of State immediately signed its adherence to the resolutions of the Senate, avoiding, it is true, every expression that might be offensive to Napoleon: "And you signed it?" said the Emperor. "No, Sire, I declined signing that adherence, on "the ground that it was an egregious piece of folly "to endeavour to remain successively the coun- "sellor and the confidential servant of two anta- "gonists; and that, besides, if the conqueror "were wise, the best pledge that could be offered "to his notice, would be fidelity and respect

"towards the conquered party."—"And you "reasoned rightly," observed Napoleon.

5th.—Nearly all our party were assembled round the Emperor in the garden. Those who were lodged in the town complained much of the inconvenience and continual vexations to which they were exposed. The Emperor, for the last fortnight, had laid down the rule of making no communication on this head, except by writing, which he conceived to be the manner most suitable and best calculated to produce the wished-for result. He had drawn up a note on this subject, which should have been delivered some days ago, but which had been neglected. He alluded several times to this business, and in a tone of displeasure. All his indirect arguments and observations applied to the Grand Marshal. The latter at length took umbrage; for, who is not rendered irritable by misfortune? He expressed himself in rather pointed language. His wife, who was standing near the garden-gate, despairing of being able to appease the storm, withdrew. I had now an opportunity of observing how the impressions produced by this circumstance succeeded each other in the Emperor's mind. Reason, logic, and, it may be added, sentiment, always prevailed.—"If," said he, "you did not deliver the letter be-"cause you considered it to be couched in offen-"sive terms, you performed a duty of friendship;

" but surely this did not require a delay of more " than twenty-four hours. A fortnight has elapsed " without your mentioning it to me. If the plan " was faulty, if the letter was ill-expressed, why " not have told me so ? I should have assembled " you all to discuss the matter with me."

We all stood near the arbour at the extremity of the path, while the Emperor walked back and forward before us. At a moment, when he had gone to a little distance from us, and was out of hearing, the Grand Marshal, addressing himself to me, said :—" I fear I have expressed " myself improperly, and I am sorry for it."— " We will leave you alone with him," said I ; " you " will soon make him forget the offence." I accordingly beckoned the other individuals who were present to leave the garden.

In the evening, the Emperor, conversing with me about the events of the morning, said :—" It " was after we had made it up with the Grand " Marshal—It was before the misunderstand- " ing with the Grand Marshal,"—and other things of the same sort, which proved that the affair had left no impression on his heart.

The Generals of the Army of Italy.—Ancient Armies.—Gengiskan.—Modern Invasions.—Character of Conquerors.

6th.—The Emperor was somewhat unwell, and employed himself in writing in his chamber. He

dictated to me the portraits of the Generals of the army of Italy—Massena, Augereau, Serrurier, &c. Massena was endowed with extraordinary courage and firmness, which seemed to increase in excess of danger. When conquered, he was always as ready to fight the battle again as though he had been the conqueror. Augereau was a cross-grained character: he seemed to be tired and disheartened by victory, of which he always had enough. His person, his manners, and his language, gave him the air of a braggadocio, which, however, he was far from being. He was satiated with honours and riches, which he had received at all hands, and in all ways. Serrurier, who retained the manners and severity of an old major of infantry, was an honest and trust-worthy man ; but a bad general, &c.—Further details of these individuals will be found in the Campaigns of Italy.

Among the various subjects of the day's conversation, I note down what the Emperor said respecting the armies of the Ancients. He asked whether the accounts of the great armies mentioned in history were to be credited. He was of opinion that those statements were false and absurd. He placed no faith in the descriptions of the innumerable armies of the Carthaginians in Sicily. "Such a multitude of troops," he observed, "would have been useless in so incon-" siderable an enterprise; and if Carthage could

" have assembled such a force, a still greater one " would have been raised in Hannibal's expedi- " tion, which was of much greater importance, " but in which not more than forty or fifty thou- " sand men were employed." He did not believe the accounts of the millions of men composing the forces of Darius and Xerxes, which might have covered all Greece, and which would doubtless have been subdivided into a multitude of partial armies. He even doubted the whole of that brilliant period of Greek history; and he regarded the famous Persian war only as a series of undecided actions, in which each party laid claim to the victory. Xerxes returned triumphant, after taking, burning, and destroying Athens; and the Greeks exulted in their victory, because they had not surrendered at Salamis. " With regard to the pompous accounts of " the conquests of the Greeks, and the defeat of " their numberless enemies, it must be recol- " lected," observed the Emperor, " that the Greeks, " who wrote them, were a vain and hyperbolical " people; and that no Persian chronicle has ever " been produced to set our judgment right by " contrary statements."

But the Emperor attached credit to Roman history, if not in its details, at least in its results; because these were facts as clear as daylight. He also believed the descriptions of the

armies of Gengiskan and Tamerlane, however numerous they are said to have been; because they were followed by gregarious nations, who, on their part, were joined by other wandering tribes as they advanced; "and it is not impossible," observed the Emperor, "that this may one day be "the case in Europe. The revolution produced by "the Huns, the cause of which is unknown, be- "cause the tract is lost in the desert, may at a "future period be renewed."

The situation of Russia is admirably calculated to assist her in bringing about such a catastrophe. She may collect at will numberless auxiliaries and scatter them over Europe. The wandering tribes of the north will be the better disposed, and the more impatient to engage in such enterprises, in proportion as their imaginations have been fired, and their avarice excited by the successes of those of their countrymen who lately visited us.

The conversation next turned on conquests and conquerors; and the Emperor observed, that to be a successful conqueror, it was necessary to be ferocious, and that, if he had been such, he might have conquered the world. I presumed to dissent from this opinion, which was doubtless expressed in a moment of vexation. I represented that he, Napoleon, was precisely a proof of the contrary; that he had not been ferocious, and yet had conquered the world; and that with the manners

of modern times, ferocity would certainly never have raised him to so high a point. I added, that at the present day, terror could never subject us to the control of an individual man; and that dominion was to be secured only by good laws, joined to greatness of character, and that degree of energy which is proof against every trial, in him who is charged with the execution of the laws. These, I affirmed, were precisely the causes of Napoleon's success, and of the submission and obedience of the people over whom he ruled.

The Convention was ferocious, and inspired terror: it was submitted to, but could not be endured. Had the power been vested in an individual, his overthrow would soon have been accomplished. But the Convention was a hydra, yet how many attempts were hazarded for its destruction!—how many dangers did it escape as if by miracle! It was reduced to the necessity of burying itself amidst its triumphs.

For a conqueror to be ferocious with success, he must of necessity command troops who are themselves ferocious, and he must wield dominion over unenlightened people. In this respect Russia possesses an immense superiority over the rest of Europe. She has the rare advantage of possessing a civilized government, and barbarous subjects. There, information directs and commands, while ignorance executes and destroys. A Turkish Sul-

tan could not long govern any enlightened European nation; the empire of knowledge would be too strong for his power.

Speaking on another subject, the Emperor observed, that, if the French people had less energy than the Romans, they at least evinced greater decorum. We should not have killed ourselves, as the Romans did under the first emperors; but at the same time we should have afforded no examples of the turpitude and servility that marked the later periods of the Roman empire. "Even in "our most corrupt days," said he, "our baseness "was not without certain restrictions: courtiers "whom the sovereign could have prevailed on to "do any thing in his own palace, have refused to "bend the knee to him at his levee."

I have already mentioned, that we had with us scarcely any document relative to French affairs during the Emperor's time. The books that had been brought among his effects were merely a few classics which he carried about with him in all his campaigns. I received from Major Hudson, a resident of the island, a political compendium from 1793 to 1807, entitled "The Annual Register," which contains the succession of political events during each year, together with some of the most important official documents. In our destitute circumstances this was a valuable acquisition.

Ideas.—Plans.—Political Suggestions, &c.

7th.—The Emperor breakfasted alone, and was engaged during the day in dictating to the Grand Marshal and M. de Montholon.

In the evening, as the Emperor and I were walking together in the lower path, which had now become the favourite resort, I informed him that a person of consequence, whose ideas and statements might become the channel of mediation between ourselves and the ruling world, and influence our future destiny, had, with sufficiently significant forms and preambles, invited us to tell him conscientiously what we believed to be the Emperor's notions on certain political subjects: —whether he had granted his last constitution with the intention of maintaining it;—whether he would have consented to leave England in the enjoyment of her maritime supremacy, without envying her the tranquil possession of India;—whether he would have been willing to renounce the Colonies, and to purchase colonial goods from the English alone, at the regular market price;—whether he would not have formed an alliance with the Americans, in case of their rupture with England;—whether he would have consented to the existence of a great kingdom in Germany, for that branch of the English royal family, who must immediately forfeit the throne of Great Britain on the accession of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, or,

in default of Germany, whether he would have consented to the establishment of that dominion in Portugal, in case England should conclude arrangements with the Court of Brazil.

These questions did not rest on vague ideas or idle opinions: the individual supported them on positive facts. "We want," said he, "a long and "lasting peace on the Continent—we want the "tranquil enjoyment of our present advantages, "to help us out of the critical circumstances in "which we are now involved, and to relieve us "from the enormous debt with which we are bur-"thened. The present state of France and of Eu-"rope," added he, "cannot bring about these re-"sults. The victory of Waterloo ruined you; but "it was far from saving us; every sensible man "in England, every one who escapes the momen-"tary influence of passion, either does think, or "will think, as I do."

The Emperor doubted a part of this statement, and treated the rest as a reverie; then changing his tone, he said to me, "Well, what is your opi-"nion? Come, now, you are one of the Council of "State."—"Sire," I replied, "people often indulge "in reveries on the most serious subjects; and our "being imprisoned at St.-Helena does not hinder "us from composing romances. Here then is one. "Why not form a political marriage between the "two nations, in which the one would bring the

"army as a dowry, and the other the navy? This "will doubtless appear an absurd idea in the eyes "of the vulgar, and will perhaps be thought too "bold by well-informed people, because it is en- "tirely novel and out of the usual routine. But "it is one of those unforeseen, luminous and useful "creations of plans which characterize your Ma- "jesty. You alone are capable of attending to it, "and perhaps of carrying it into effect."

Going even beyond the ideas of our English interlocutor, I said: "Would not your Majesty "give to-morrow, if you could, the whole French "navy to purchase Belgium and the bank of the "Rhine? Would you not give one hundred and fifty "millions to purchase tens of thousands of millions? "Besides, such a bargain would procure to both "nations at once the object for which they have "been wrangling and fighting for so many years; "it would reduce both countries to the necessity of "mutually assisting each other, instead of main- "taining perpetual enmity. Would it be nothing "for France that her merchants in the English "colonies should henceforward be on the footing of "Englishmen; and thus secure, without striking a "blow, the enjoyment of the trade of the whole "world? Would it be nothing for England, on the "other hand, for the sake of insuring to herself the "sovereignty of the ocean, the universality of trade "(for obtaining and preserving which she has in- "curred so many risks), to attach France to a sys-

"tem by which the latter would become the regu-
"lator and arbiter of the Continent?

"Henceforth secure from danger, and strength-
"ened by all the power of her ally, England might
"disband her army, in return for the sacrifice which
"France would make of her navy. She might even
"reduce considerably the number of her ships.
"She would thus pay her debt, relieve her people,
"and prosper; and far from envying France, she
"would (the system being once fairly understood,
"and passion having given place to real interests)
"herself labour for the Continental aggrandize-
"ment of her neighbour; for France would then be
"merely the advance-guard, while England would
"be the resource and the reserve. Unity of legis-
"lation between the two nations, their common
"interests, results so visibly advantageous, would
"make amends for all the obstacles and difficulties
"which the passions of rulers might oppose to the
"fulfilment of this plan."

The Emperor heard me, but made no reply; it is seldom that one can ascertain his private opinions, and he rarely enters into political conversations. Lest I should not have expressed myself with sufficient clearness, I requested that he would permit me to unfold my ideas in writing.* He consented, and said no more. It was now very late, and he retired to rest.

* I may perhaps affix this note to my journal, along with some other documents, if I should be able to recover them.

8th.—The Emperor dictated in the garden to MM. Montholon and Gourgaud, and then walked on his favourite path. He was fatigued and indisposed. He observed some females about to advance on the path, and to throw themselves awkwardly in his way, for the sake of being introduced to him; this annoyed him, and he turned away to avoid meeting them.

I suggested that riding on horseback might be beneficial to him; we had three horses at our disposal. The Emperor replied, that he never could reconcile himself to the idea of having an English officer constantly at his side; that he decidedly renounced riding on such conditions; adding, that every thing in life must be reduced to calculation, and that, if the vexation arising from the sight of his jailor were greater than the advantage he might derive from riding, it was of course advisable to renounce the recreation altogether.

The Emperor ate but little dinner. During the dessert he amused himself in examining the paintings on some plates of very beautiful Sevres porcelaine. They were *chefs-d'œuvre* in their kind, and were worth thirty Napoleons each. The paintings represented views or objects of antiquity in Egypt.

The Emperor closed the day with a walk on his favourite path. He remarked that he had been very dull all day. After several broken conver-

sations, he looked at his watch, and was very glad to find it was half-past ten.

The weather was delicious, and the Emperor insensibly recovered his usual spirits. He complained of his constitution, which, though vigorous, occasionally exposed him to fits of indisposition. He, however, consoled himself with the thought that if, in imitation of the ancients, he should ever feel inclined to escape from the disgusts and vexations of life, his moral opinions were not of a nature to prevent him. He said that sometimes he could not reflect without horror on the many years he might still have to live, and on the inutility of a protracted old age; and that if he were convinced France was happy and tranquil, and not needing his aid, he should have lived long enough.

We ascended to the pavilion, it was past midnight, and we thought we had gained a signal victory over time.

9th.—I called on Mr. Balcombe very early, to deliver to him my letters for Europe, as a vessel was on the point of sailing. At Mr. Balcombe's house I met the officer who had been appointed as our guard. Struck with the dejection which I had observed in the Emperor the day before, and convinced of the necessity of his taking exercise, I told the officer that I suspected the reason which prevented the Emperor from riding on horseback; I added, that

I would speak to him the more candidly and openly, since I had noticed the very delicate way in which he discharged his duty. I inquired what were his instructions, and whether it would be necessary to observe them literally in case the Emperor merely took a ride round the house; adverting to the repugnance which he must naturally feel for arrangements that were calculated every moment to revive the recollection of the situation in which he was placed. I assured the officer that I intended to cast no reflections on him personally, and that I was convinced, when the Emperor wished to take long rides, he would prefer that some one should accompany him. The officer replied, that his instructions were to follow the Emperor; but that, as he made it a rule not to do any thing that might be offensive to him, he would take upon himself not to ride beside him.

At breakfast I communicated to the Emperor the conversation I had had with the Captain. He replied that it was all very well as far as regarded him; but that he should not avail himself of the indulgence, as it was not conformable with his sentiments to enjoy an advantage which might be the means of compromising an officer.

This determination was very fortunate. When I went to Mr. Balcombe's in the evening, the Captain took me aside to inform me, that he had

been to the town, in the course of the day, to speak with the Admiral respecting our morning's conversation, and that he had been enjoined to conform with his instructions. I could not refrain from replying, somewhat sharply, that I was certain the Emperor would immediately send back the three horses that had been assigned for his use. The officer, to whom I had also communicated the reply which the Emperor had given me in the morning relative to him, observed, that it would be very right to send back the horses, and that he thought nothing better could be done. This remark appeared to me to be prompted by the mortification he himself experienced at the part that was imposed on him.

When we left Mr. Balcombe's, the Emperor walked up and down the path in the garden. I mentioned to him what I had heard from the English officer. He seemed to expect it. I was not deceived in my conjecture; he ordered me to send away the horses. This vexed me exceedingly; and I said, perhaps rather sharply, that with his leave I would go and fulfil his orders immediately. On which he replied, with great gravity and in a very peculiar tone of voice: —"No, Sir, you are now out of temper. It "rarely happens that any thing is done well "under such circumstances; it is always best to "let the night pass over after the offence of the "day."

We continued our walk till nearly midnight: the weather was delightful.

10th.—To-day, when our usual task was ended, the Emperor strolled out in a new direction. He proceeded towards the town, until he came within sight of the road and the shipping. As he was returning, he met Mrs. Balcombe, and a Mrs. Stuart, a very pretty woman about twenty years of age, who was returning from Bombay to England. The Emperor conversed with her respecting the manners and customs of India, and the inconveniencies of a sea-voyage, particularly for females. He also spoke of Scotland, which was Mrs. Stuart's native country; said a great deal about Ossian, and complimented the lady on the climate of India not having spoiled her clear Scottish complexion.

At this moment some slaves, carrying heavy boxes, passed by us on the road; Mrs. Balcombe desired them, in rather an angry tone, to keep back; but the Emperor interfered, saying: "Re-"spect the burden, Madam!" At these words, Mrs. Stuart, who had been attentively observing the Emperor's features, said in a low tone of voice to her friend: "Heavens! what a countenance, and "what a character! How different from what "I had been led to expect!"

Midnight conversations by moonlight.—The two Empresses.—Maria Louisa's marriage.—Her household.—The Duchess de Montebello.—Madame de Montesquiou.—The Institute of Meudon.—Sentiments of the House of Austria, with regard to Napoleon.—Anecdotes collected in Germany, since my return to Europe.

11th—13th. We led a most regular life at Briars. Every day, after dictating to me, the Emperor walked out between three and four o'clock. He descended to the garden, where he walked up and down, and dictated to one of the gentlemen who came from the town for that purpose, and who wrote in the little arbour. About half-past five o'clock, he passed Mr. Balcombe's house, and went into the lower walk, to which he became every day more and more attached. At this time the family were at dinner, and he could enjoy his promenade without interruption. I joined the Emperor here, and he continued his walk until dinner was announced.

After dinner, the Emperor again returned to the garden, where he sometimes had his coffee brought to him. My son then visited Mr. Balcombe's family, and the Emperor and I walked up and down. We frequently remained in the garden until the night was far advanced and the moon rose to light us. In the mildness and serenity of the night we forgot the burning heat of the day. The Emperor never was more talkative, nor

seemed more perfectly to forget his cares, than during these moonlight walks. In the familiarity of the conversations which I thus enjoyed with him, he took pleasure in relating anecdotes of his boyhood, in describing the sentiments and illusions which diffused a charm over the early years of his youth, and in detailing the circumstances of his private life, since he had played so distinguished a part on the great theatre of the world. I have elsewhere noted down what I conceived myself at liberty to repeat. Sometimes he seemed to think he had spoken too much at length, and had detailed things too minutely. He would then say to me: "Come, it is your turn now: "let me have a little of your history; but you "are not a tale-teller." Indeed, I took especial care to be silent; I was too much afraid of losing a syllable of what so deeply interested me.

In one of our nightly walks, the Emperor told me that he had in the course of his life been much attached to two women of very different characters. The one was the votary of art and the graces; the other was all innocence and simple nature: and each, he observed, had a very high degree of merit.

The first, in no moment of her life ever assumed a position or attitude that was not pleasing or captivating; it was impossible to take her by surprise, or to make her feel the least inconvenience.

She employed every resource of art to heighten natural attractions; but with such ingenuity as to render every trace of allurement imperceptible. The other, on the contrary, never suspected that any thing was to be gained by innocent artifice. The one was always somewhat short of the truth of nature; the other was altogether frank and open, and was a stranger to subterfuge. The first never asked her husband for any thing, but she was in debt to every one; the second freely asked whenever she wanted, which, however, very seldom happened; and she never thought of receiving any thing without immediately paying for it. Both were amiable and gentle in disposition, and strongly attached to their husbands. But it must already have been guessed who they are; and those who have ever seen them will not fail to recognise the two Empresses.

The Emperor declared that he had uniformly experienced from both the greatest equality of temper and most implicit obedience.

The marriage of Maria-Louisa was consummated at Fontainebleau, immediately after her arrival. The Emperor, setting aside all the etiquette that had previously been arranged, went to meet her, and in disguise got into her carriage. She was agreeably surprised when she discovered him. She had always been given to understand that Berthier, who had married her by proxy at

Vienna, in person and age exactly resembled the Emperor: she, however, signified that she observed a very pleasing difference between them.

The Emperor wished to spare her all the details of domestic etiquette, customary on such occasions. She had received careful instructions at Vienna relative to the ceremonies to be observed at her marriage. The Emperor inquired what directions she had received from her illustrious relatives with regard to him personally. To be entirely devoted to him, and to obey him in all things, was the reply. This declaration, and not the decisions of certain cardinals and bishops, as was reported, proved the solution of all the Emperor's scruples of conscience. Besides, Henry IV. acted in the same way on a similar occasion.

Maria-Louisa's marriage, said the Emperor, was proposed and concluded under the same forms and conditions, as that of Marie-Antoinette, whose contract was adopted as a model. After the repudiation of Josephine, negotiations were entered into with the Emperor of Russia, for the purpose of soliciting the hand of one of his sisters: the difficulties rested merely in the settling of certain points relative to religion. Prince Eugène, conversing with M. de Schwartzenberg, learned that the Emperor of Austria would not object to a union between Napoleon and his daughter; and this information was communicated to the Emperor. A council

was convoked to decide whether an alliance with Russia or Austria would be most advantageous. Eugène and Talleyrand were for the Austrian alliance, and Cambacérès against it. The majority were in favour of an Archduchess. Eugène was appointed to make the official overture, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was empowered to sign it that very day if an opportunity should present itself; which proved to be the case.

Russia took umbrage at this; she thought herself trifled with, though without just ground. Nothing of an obligatory nature had yet transpired; both parties remained perfectly free. Political interests predominated over every thing.

The Emperor appointed the Duchess de Montebello to be lady of honour to Maria-Louisa; the Count de Beauharnais to be her gentleman of honour, and the Prince Aldobrandini to be her equery. In the misfortunes of 1814, these individuals, said the Emperor, did not evince the devotedness which the Empress was entitled to expect from them. Her equery deserted her without taking his leave; her gentleman of honour refused to follow her; and her lady of honour, notwithstanding the attachment which the Empress entertained for her, thought she had completely fulfilled her duty in attending her mistress as far as Vienna.

The appointment of the Duchess de Montebello to the post of lady of honour, was one of those

happy selections which, at the time it was made, excited universal approbation. The Duchess was a young and beautiful woman, of irreproachable character, and the widow of a marshal, called the *Orlando* of the army, who had recently fallen on the field of battle. This choice was very agreeable to the army, and encouraged the national party, who were alarmed at the marriage and the number and rank of the chamberlains who were appointed. This retinue was, by many, looked upon as a step towards the counter-revolution; and endeavours were made to represent it as such. As for the Emperor, he had acted in ignorance of the character of Maria-Louisa, and had been principally influenced by the fear that she would be filled with prejudices respecting birth, that might be offensive at the court. When he came to know her better, and found that she was wholly imbued with the prevailing notions of the day, he regretted not having made another choice. He conceived he would have done better to have selected the Countess de Beauvean, a woman of amiable, mild, and inoffensive manners, who would have been influenced only by the family considerations of her numerous relatives, and who might thus have introduced a kind of useful tradition, and have occasioned the appointment of well-recommended inferiors. She might also have rallied about the court many persons who were at a distance; and that, without

any inconvenience, because these arrangements could only have been brought about by the sanction of the Emperor, who was not the sort of man to allow himself to be abused.

The Empress conceived the tenderest affection for the Duchess de Montebello. This lady had at one time a chance of being Queen of Spain. Ferdinand VII. when at Valencey, requested the Emperor's permission to marry Mademoiselle de Tascher, cousin-german of Josephine; he even proposed to marry the young lady, in her own name, after the example of the Prince of Baden, who married Mademoiselle de Beauharnais. The Emperor, who already contemplated a separation from Josephine, refused his consent to the match, not wishing by this connexion to add to the difficulties that already stood in the way of his divorce. Ferdinand then solicited the hand of the Duchess de Montebello, or of any other French lady whom the Emperor might think proper to adopt. The Emperor subsequently gave Mademoiselle de Tascher in marriage to the Duke d'Aremberg, intending to create her husband Governor of the Netherlands; with the view of ultimately compensating Brussels for the loss of her old court. The Emperor moreover wished to appoint the Count de Narbonne, who had taken part in the Empress's marriage, Gentleman of honour, in room of the Count de Beauharnais; but the extreme aversion which Maria-Louisa evinced for this

change deterred the Emperor from carrying it into effect. The Empress's dislike to the Count de Narbonne was, however, only occasioned by the intrigues of the individuals composing her household, who had nothing to fear from M. de Beauharnais, but who very much dreaded the influence and talent of M. de Narbonne.

The Emperor informed us, that when he had to make appointments to difficult posts, he usually asked the persons about him to furnish him with a list of candidates; and from these lists, and the information he obtained, he privately deliberated on his choice. He mentioned several individuals who were proposed as lady of honour to the Empress: they were the Princess de Vaudemont, Madame de Rochefoucault, afterwards Madame de Castellanes, and some others. He then asked us to tell him whom we should have proposed; which occasioned us to take a review of a good part of the court. One of us mentioned Madame de Montesquiou; upon which the Emperor replied, "She would have done well, but she had a "post which suited her still better. She was "a woman of singular merit; her piety was sin- "cere, and her principles excellent; she had the "highest claims on my esteem and regard. I "wanted half a dozen like her; I would "have given them all appointments equal to "their deserts. She discharged her duties ad- "mirably when with my son at Vienna."

The following anecdote will afford a correct idea of the manner in which Madame de Montesquiou managed the King of Rome. The apartments of the young Prince were on the ground floor, and looked out on the court of the Tuileries. At almost every hour in the day, numbers of people were looking in at the window, in the hope of seeing him. One day when he was in a violent fit of passion, and rebelling furiously against the authority of Madame de Montesquiou, she immediately ordered all the shutters to be closed. The child, surprised at the sudden darkness, asked *Maman Quiou,* as he used to call her, what it all meant. "I love you too well," she replied, "not to hide your anger from the crowd in "the court-yard. You, perhaps, will one day be "called to govern all those people, and what "would they say if they saw you in such a fit of "rage? Do you think they would ever obey you, "if they knew you to be so wicked?" Upon which, the child asked her pardon, and promised never again to give way to such fits of anger.

"This," observed the Emperor, "was language "very different from that addressed by M. de "Villeroi to Louis XV. '*Behold all those people,* "*my Prince,*' said he, '*they belong to you; all the* "*men you see yonder are yours.*'"

Madame de Montesquiou was adored by the young King of Rome. At the time of her removal from Vienna, it was found necessary to employ

stratagems to deceive the child: it was even supposed that his health would suffer from the separation.

The Emperor had conceived many novel ideas relative to the education of the King of Rome. For this important object, he decided on the *Institute de Meudon*, of which he had already laid down the principle, with the view of farther developing it at his leisure. There he proposed to assemble the Princes of the Imperial house, particularly the sons of those branches of the family who had been raised to foreign thrones. In this institution he intended that the Princes should receive the attentions of private tuition, combined with the advantages of public education. "These "children," said the Emperor, "who were des- "tined to occupy different thrones, and to govern "different nations, would thus have acquired "conformity of principles, manners, and ideas. "The better to facilitate the amalgamation and "uniformity of the federative parts of the Em- "pire, each Prince was to bring with him from "his own country ten or twelve youths about "his own age, the sons of the first families "in the state. What an influence would they "not have exercised on their return home! I "doubted not," continued the Emperor, "but "that Princes of other dynasties, unconnected "with my family, would soon have solicited, as "a great favour, permission to place their sons

" in the Institute of Meudon. What advantages " would thence have arisen to the nations com- " posing the European association! All these " young Princes," said he, " would have been " brought together early enough to be united " in the tender and powerful bonds of youthful " friendship; and they would, at the same time, " have been separated early enough to obviate " the fatal effects of rising passions—the ardour " of partiality—the ambition of success—the jea- " lousy of love."

The Emperor wished that the education of the Princes should be founded on general information, extended views, summaries, and results. He wished them to possess knowledge rather than learning; judgment rather than attainments; he preferred the application of details to the study of theories. Above all, he objected to the pursuing of any particular study too deeply, for he regarded perfection or too great success in certain things, whether in the arts or sciences, as a disadvantage to a prince. A nation, he said, will never gain much by being governed by a poet, a virtuoso, a naturalist, a turner, a locksmith, &c. &c.

Maria-Louisa confessed to the Emperor, that when her marriage with him was first proposed, she could not help feeling a kind of terror, owing to the accounts she had heard of Napoleon from the individuals of her family. When she men-

tioned these reports to her uncles, the Archdukes, who were very urgent for the marriage, they replied,—"That was all very true, while he was our enemy; but the case is altered now."

"To afford an idea of the sympathy and good "will with which the different members of the "Austrian family were taught to regard me," said the Emperor, "it is sufficient to mention "that one of the young Archdukes frequently "burned his dolls, which he called *roasting Na-*"*poleon.* He afterwards declared he would not "roast me any more, for he loved me very much, "because I had given his sister Louisa plenty of "money to buy him playthings."

Since my return to Europe, I have had an opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments entertained by the House of Austria towards Napoleon. In Germany, a person of distinction informed me, that having had a private audience of the Emperor Francis, during his tour in Italy in 1816, the conversation turned on Napoleon. Francis spoke of him in the most respectful terms. One might almost have supposed, said my informant, that he still regarded him as the ruler of France, and that he was ignorant of his captivity at Saint-Helena. He never alluded to him by any other title than the Emperor Napoleon.

I learned from the same individual that the Archduke John, when in Italy, visited a rotunda, on the ceiling of which was painted a cele-

brated action of which Napoleon was the hero. As he raised his head to look at the painting, his hat fell off, and one of his attendants stooped to pick it up. "Let it be," said he; "it is thus that "I should contemplate the man who is there "pourtrayed."

Now that I am on this subject, I will note down a few particulars which I collected in Germany since my return to Europe; and to mark the degree of credit to which they are entitled, I may mention that I obtained them from individuals holding high diplomatic posts. Every one knows that these members of diplomatic corps form among themselves a sort of family, a kind of free-masonry, and that their sources of information are of the most authentic kind.

The Empress Maria-Louisa complained that when she quitted France, M. de Talleyrand reserved to himself the honour of demanding from her the restitution of the crown-jewels, and ascertaining whether they had been restored with the most scrupulous exactness.

In 1814, during the disasters of France, many tempting and brilliant proposals were made to Prince Eugène. An Austrian General offered him the crown of Italy, in the name of the allies, on condition of his joining them. This offer afterwards came from a still higher source, and was several times repeated. During the reign of the Emperor, there had been some idea of raising

the Prince to a throne; and those of Portugal, Naples, and Poland, were thought of.

In 1815, men of high influence in European diplomacy, endeavoured to sound his opinions, with the view of ascertaining whether, in case Napoleon should again be constrained to abdicate, and the choice should fall on him, he would accept the crown. On this occasion, as on every other, the Prince steadily pursued a line of duty and honour which will immortalize him. *Honour and fidelity* was his constant reply; and posterity will make it his device.

On the distribution of States in 1814, the Emperor Alexander, who frequently visited the Empress Josephine at Malmaison, signified a wish to procure for her son the sovereignty of Genoa. Eugène, however, declined this proposition, at the instigation of the ruling diplomatists, who falsely flattered him with the hope of something better.

At the Congress of Vienna, the Emperor Alexander, who honoured Prince Eugène with particular marks of favour, insisted that he should be made the Sovereign of at least three hundred thousand subjects. He testified the sincerest friendship for him, and they were every day seen walking about together arm-in-arm. The landing at Cannes put a period, if not to the sentiment, at least to the manifestation of it; and changed the political interests of the Emperor of Russia.—The Austrian government even entertained the

idea of seizing the person of Prince Eugène, and sending him a prisoner to a fortress in Hungary; but the King of Bavaria, his father-in-law, indignantly represented to the Emperor of Austria, that Eugène had gone to Vienna under his protection and guarantee, and that they should not be violated. Thus Eugène remained free on his own private parole and that of the King his father-in-law.

So late as 1814, gold twenty and forty-franc pieces were struck at Milan with the head of Napoleon and the date of 1814. Either from motives of economy or some other cause, no new die had yet been engraved.

After the fall of Napoleon, Alexander on several occasions manifested a marked and decided dislike to him. In 1815 he was the promoter of the second crusade against Napoleon; he directed every hostile measure with the utmost degree of malice, and seemed to make it almost a personal affair; alleging, as the cause of his aversion, that he had been deceived and trifled with. If this tardy resentment was not a mere pretence, there is every reason to believe that it was stirred up by an old confidant of Napoleon, who, in private conversations, had artfully wounded the vanity of Alexander, by statements, true or false, of the private opinion of Napoleon with regard to his illustrious friend.

In 1814 there appeared reason to believe that

Alexander would not be averse to see young Napoleon placed on the throne of France. After the Emperor's second abdication, he seemed far less favourably disposed to the continuance of Napoleon's dynasty.

In the second crusade, the Emperor Alexander marched at the head of innumerable forces. He was heard to declare at that period, that the war might last for three years; but that Napoleon would nevertheless be subdued in the end.

On the first intelligence of the battle of Fleurus, the chiefs of all the Russian columns received orders immediately to halt; while all the Austrian and Bavarian corps instantly turned off, with the view of detaching themselves and forming a separate force. Had the Congress of Vienna been broken up on the 20th of March, it is almost certain that the crusade would not have been renewed; and had Napoleon been victorious at Waterloo, it is also tolerably certain that the Congress would have been dissolved.

The news of Napoleon's landing at Cannes was a thunderbolt to the French Plenipotentiary at Vienna. He indeed drew up the famous declaration of the 13th of March; and however virulent it might be, the first draft was still more so: it was amended by other ministers. The countenance of this Plenipotentiary, as he gradually learned the advance of Napoleon, was a sort of thermometer, which excited the risibility of all the members of the Congress.

Austria soon knew what part to act: her couriers admirably well informed her of all that was passing. The members of the French Legation alone were involved in doubt: they, however, circulated a magnanimous letter from the King to the other Sovereigns, informing them that he was resolved to die at the Tuileries, though it was known that Louis had already left the capital, and was on his way to the frontier.

A member of the Congress and Lord Wellington held a confidential conversation with the members of the French Legation; and, with the map in their hands, assigned the 20th or the 21st for Napoleon's entrance into Paris.

As the Emperor Francis received the official publications from Grenoble and Lyons, he regularly forwarded them to Schœnbrunn, to Maria Louisa, to whom they afforded extreme joy. It is very true that at a somewhat later period an idea was entertained of seizing young Napoleon, in order to convey him to France.

The French Plenipotentiary at length quitted Vienna, and proceeded to Frankfort and Wisbad, whence he could more conveniently negotiate either with Ghent or Paris. Never was a courtier thrown into greater embarrassment and anxiety by the turn of events. The ardour with which he had been inspired on receiving the intelligence of Napoleon's landing at Cannes, was very much abated when he heard of the Emperor's arrival at

Paris; and he entered into an understanding with Fouché, that the latter should be his guarantee with Napoleon, pledging himself, on the other hand, to be Fouché's guarantee with the Bourbons. There is good ground for believing that the offers made by this Plenipotentiary to the new Sovereign, went very great lengths indeed; but Napoleon indignantly rejected them, lest, as he said, he should degrade his policy too far.

In 1814, before M. de Talleyrand declared himself for the Bourbons, he was for the Regency; in which, however, he himself wished to play the principal part. Events fatal to the Napoleon dynasty prevented this moment of uncertainty from being turned to good account. Every thing tends to prove, that the result which was at that period adopted, was far from being agreeable to the intentions of Austria; that power was duped, betrayed, or at least carried by assault.

The fatality attending the military movements was such, that the Allies entered Paris without the concurrence of the Austrian Cabinet. Alexander's famous declaration against Napoleon Bonaparte and his family was also made without the Austrian Power being consulted; and the Count d'Artois only entered France by contriving to slip in secretly in spite of the orders at the Austrian head-quarters, where he had been refused passports.

It appears that Austria, on the retreat from Moscow, exerted sincere efforts in London for negotiating a peace with Napoleon; but the influence of the Russian Cabinet was all-powerful in London, and no proposals for peace were listened to. The armistice of Dresden then arrived, and Austria declared herself favourable to war.

During this interval, the Austrian minister in London could never obtain a hearing. He however remained for a considerable time in the English capital, and left it only when the Allies had reached the heart of France, and when Lord Castlereagh felt a momentary foreboding that the heroic success of Napoleon might render negotiations indispensable.

If this minister had not previously been sent to London, he would have been destined for Paris; and there probably his influence might have brought about a turn of negotiations different from those which arose during his absence between the Tuileries and Vienna.

In the height of the crisis he found himself detained in England as if by force. In his impatience to reach the grand centre of negotiations, he quitted his post, and proceeded to Holland, braving the fury of the tempest. No sooner had he arrived on the theatre of events, than he fell into the hands of Napoleon at Saint-Dizier; but the fate of France was then decided, though the fact

was not yet known at the French head-quarters. Alexander was entering Paris.

The Austrian minister in London exerted every endeavour to procure a passport to enable him to join his Sovereign by passing through Calais and Paris; but in vain. This circumstance, whether accidental, or premeditated, was another fatality. But for this disappointment the Austrian minister would have reached Paris before the Allies, would have joined Maria-Louisa, would have defeated the last projects of M. de Talleyrand, and would have altogether produced new combinations.

Opinion was divided in the Austrian Cabinet. One party was for the union with France; the other was for the alliance with Russia. Intrigue or chance decided in favour of Russia, and Austria was thus merely led on.

14th.—The coffee that was served at our breakfast this morning was better than usual; it might even have been called good. The Emperor expressed himself pleased with it. Some moments after he observed, placing his hand on his stomach, that he felt the benefit of it. It would be difficult to express what were my feelings on hearing this simple remark. The Emperor by thus, contrary to his custom, appreciating so trivial an enjoyment, unconsciously proved to me the effect of all the privations he had suffered, but of which he never complained.

When we returned from our evening walk, the Emperor read to me a chapter on the *Provisional Consuls*, which he had dictated to M. de Montholon. Having finished reading, the Emperor took a piece of ribbon, and began to tie together the loose sheets of paper. It was late; the silence of night prevailed around us. My reflections at this moment took a melancholy turn. I gazed on the Emperor. I looked on those hands which had wielded so many sceptres, and which were now tranquilly, and, perhaps, not without some degree of pleasure, occupied in the humble task of tying together a few sheets of paper. On these sheets, indeed, were traced events that will never be forgotten; portraits that will decide the judgment of posterity. It is the book of life or death to many whose names are recorded in it. These were the reflections that passed in my mind. "And the Emperor," thought I, "reads "to me what he writes; he familiarly asks my "opinion, and I freely give it! After all, am I "not rather to be envied than pitied in my exile "at Saint-Helena?"

15th.—Immediately after dinner the Emperor walked in his favourite path. He had his coffee carried down to him in the garden, and he drank it as he walked about. The conversation turned on love. I must have made some very fine and sentimental remarks on this important subject; for the Emperor laughed at what he styled my

prattle, and said that he understood none of my romantic verbiage. Then speaking with an air of levity, he wished to make me believe that he was better acquainted with sensations than sentiments. I made free to remark, that he was trying to be thought worse than he was described to be in the authentic but very secret accounts that were circulated about the palace. "And what was "said of me?" resumed he, with an air of gaiety. "Sire," I replied, "it is understood, that when "in the summit of your power, you suffered your- "self to be enslaved by the chains of love; that "you became a hero of romance.—In short, that "you conceived an attachment for a lady in "humble circumstances; that you wrote her "above a dozen love-letters; and that her power "over you prevailed so far as to compel you to "disguise yourself, and to visit her secretly and "alone, at her own residence in the heart of "Paris."—"And how came this to be known?" said he, smiling; which of course amounted to an admission of the fact. "And it was doubtless "added," continued he, "that that was the most "imprudent act of my whole life; for had my "mistress proved treacherous, what might not "have been my fate—alone and disguised, in the "circumstances in which I was placed, amidst "the snares with which I was surrounded? But "what more is said of me?"—"Sire, it is affirmed "that your Majesty's posterity is not confined to

" the King of Rome. The secret chronicle states " that he has two elder brothers: one, the off- " spring of a fair foreigner, whom you loved in a " distant country; the other, the fruit of a con- " nexion nearer at hand, in the bosom of your " own capital. It was asserted, that both had " been conveyed to Malmaison, before our de- " parture; the one brought by his mother, and " the other introduced by his tutor; and they " were described to be the living portraits of " their father."*

The Emperor laughed much at the extent of my information, as he termed it; and being now in a merry vein, he began to take a frank retrospect of his early years, relating many of the love-affairs and humorous adventures in which he had been engaged. He mentioned a supper that took place in the neighbourhood of the Saone at the commencement of the Revolution, and at which he had been present in company with Demazis. He described the whole with the utmost pleasantry. Demazis, he observed, was a good-natured fellow, or his patriotic eloquence might have proved fatal when opposed to the contrary doctrines of the other guests, and might even have brought him into some serious scrape. " You and I," he

* It is said, that a codicil in the Emperor's will, which, however, must remain secret, completely confirms the above conjectures.

continued, " were at that time very far from each " other."—" Not so very far, in point of dis- " tance, Sire," I replied, " though certainly very " remote with respect to doctrines. At that time " I was also in the neighbourhood of the Saone, " on one of the quays of Lyons, where crowds " of patriots were declaiming against the cannon " which they had just discovered in some boats, " and which they termed a counter-revolution. " I very unopportunely proposed that they should " make sure of the cannon, by administering to " them the *civic oath*. However, I narrowly " escaped being hanged for my folly. You, see, " Sire, that I might at that time have balanced " your account, had any disaster befallen you " among the aristocrats." This was not the only curious approximation that was mentioned in the course of the evening. The Emperor having related to me an interesting circumstance that took place in 1788, said, " Where were you " at that time?"—" Sire," replied I, after a few moments recollection, " I was then at Martinique, " supping every evening with the future Empress " Josephine."

A shower of rain came on, and we were obliged to retire from our favourite path, which, the Emperor observed, we might probably at a future period look back to with pleasure. " Perhaps " so," I replied; " but certainly that will not be " until we have forsaken it for ever. Meanwhile

" we must content ourselves with naming it the " path of Philosophy, since it cannot be called " the path of Lethe."

The Fauxbourg Saint-Germain, &c.—The Emperor's freedom from prejudice and ill-will.—Characteristic language.

16th.—To-day the Emperor put some questions to me relative to the Fauxbourg Saint-Germain; that last bulwark of the old aristocracy, that refuge of old-fashioned prejudices; the *Germanic league*, as he called it. I told him that, before his last misfortune, his power had extended into every part of it: it had been invaded, and its name alone remained; it had been shaken and vanquished by glory; and that the victories of Austerlitz and Jena, and the triumph of Tilsit, had achieved its conquest. The younger portion of the inhabitants, and all who had generous hearts, could not be insensible to the glory of their country. The Emperor's marriage with Maria-Louisa gave the finishing stroke to this conversion. The few malcontents who remained were either those whose ambition had not been gratified, and who are to be found in all classes, or some obstinate old men, and silly old women, bewailing their past influence. All reasonable and sensible persons had yielded to the superior talents of the Head of the State, and endeavoured to console themselves for their losses in the hope of a better prospect for their children. This was

the point towards which all their ideas were directed. They gave the Emperor credit for his partiality to old family names; they agreed that any one else in his place would have annihilated them. They prized very highly the confidence with which the Emperor had collected individuals of ancient family about his person; and they valued him no less for the language he had made use of in making choice of their children to serve in the army:—"These names belong to "France and to History; I am the guardian of their "glory, I will not allow them to perish." These and other such expressions had gained him numbers of proselytes. The Emperor here expressed his apprehension that sufficient favour had not been shewn to this party. "My system of amal-"gamation," said he, "required it: I wished and "even directed favours to be conferred on them; "but the ministers, who were the great media-"tors, never properly fulfilled my real intentions "in that respect; either because they had not "sufficient foresight, or because they feared that "they might thus create rivals for favour, and "diminish their own chances. M. Talleyrand, in "particular, always shewed great opposition to "such a measure, and always resisted my favour-"able intentions towards the old nobility." I observed, however, that the greater part of those whom he had placed near him, had soon shewn themselves attached to his person; that they had

served him conscientiously, and had, generally speaking, remained faithful to him at the critical moment. The Emperor did not deny it, and even went so far as to say that the two-fold event of the King's return and his own abdication must naturally have had great influence on certain doctrines; and that, for his own part, he could see a great difference between the same conduct pursued in 1814 and in 1815.

And here I must observe, that since I have become acquainted with the Emperor's character, I have never known him to evince, for a single moment, the least feeling of anger or animosity against those individuals who had been most to blame in their conduct towards him. He gives no great credit to those who distinguished themselves by their good conduct: they had only done their duty. He is not very indignant against those who acted basely; he partly saw through their characters: they yielded to the impulses of their nature. He speaks of them coolly, and without animosity; attributing their conduct in some measure to existing circumstances, which he acknowledged were of a very perplexing nature, and threw the rest to the account of human weakness. Vanity was the ruin of Marmont: "Posterity "will justly cast a shade upon his character," said he; "yet his heart will be more valued than the "memory of his career. The conduct of Augereau "was the result of his want of information, and

" the baseness of those who surrounded him; that " of Berthier, of his want of spirit, and his ab- " solute nullity of character."

I remarked, that the latter had let slip the best and easiest opportunity of rendering himself for ever illustrious, by frankly rendering his submission to the King, and entreating his Majesty's permission to withdraw from the world, and mourn in solitude the fate of him who had honoured him with the title of his companion in arms, and had called him his friend. " Yes," said the Emperor: " even this step, simple as it was, was beyond " his power."—" His talents, his understanding," said I, " had always been a subject of doubt with " us. Your Majesty's choice, your confidence, " your great attachment, surprised us exceed- " ingly."—" To say the truth," replied the Emperor, " Berthier was not without talent, and I am " far from wishing to disavow his merit, or my " partiality for him; but his talent and merit were " special and technical; beyond a limited point " he had no mind whatever: and then he was so " undecided."—I observed, that " he was, not- " withstanding, full of pretensions and pride in " his conduct towards us."—" Do you think, " then, that the title of Favourite stands for no- " thing?" said the Emperor. I added, that " he " was very harsh and overbearing."—" And what," said he, " my dear Las Cases, is more overbear-

" ing than weakness which feels itself protected " by strength? Look at women, for example."

Berthier accompanied the Emperor in his carriage during his campaigns. As they drove along, the Emperor would examine the order-book and the report of the positions, whence he formed his resolutions, adopted his plans, and arranged the necessary movements. Berthier noted down his directions, and at the first station they came to, or during the first moments allotted to rest, whether by night or by day, he made out, in his turn, all the orders and individual details with admirable regularity, precision, and despatch. This was a kind of duty at which he shewed himself always ready and indefatigable. " This was " the special merit of Berthier," said the Emperor: " it was most valuable to me; no other ta- " lent could have made up for the want of it."

I now return to notice some characteristic traits of the Emperor. He invariably speaks with perfect coolness, without passion, without prejudice, and without resentment, of the events and the persons connected with his life. He seems as though he could be equally capable of becoming the ally of his most cruel enemy, and of living with the man who had done him the greatest wrong. He speaks of his past history as if it had occurred three centuries ago; in his recitals and his observations he speaks the language of past

ages; he is like a spirit discoursing in the Elysian fields; his conversations are true dialogues of the dead. He speaks of himself as of a third person; noticing the Emperor's actions, pointing out the faults with which history may reproach him, and analyzing the reasons and the motives which might be alleged in his justification.

He never can excuse himself, he says, by throwing blame on others, since he never followed any but his own decision. He may complain, at the worst, of false informations, but never of bad counsel. He surrounded himself with the best possible advisers, but he always adhered to his own opinion, and he was far from repenting of so doing. "It is," said he, "the indecision and "anarchy of agents which produce anarchy and "feebleness in results. In order to form a just "opinion respecting the faults produced by the "sole personal decision of the Emperor, it will be "necessary to throw into the scale the great ac- "tions of which he would have been deprived, "and the other faults which he would have been "induced to commit, by those very counsels which "he is blamed for not having followed."

In viewing the complicated circumstances of his fall, he looks upon things so much in a mass, and from so high a point, that individuals escape his notice. He never evinces the least symptom of virulence towards those of whom it might be supposed he has the greatest reason to complain.

His greatest mark of reprobation, and I have had frequent occasion to notice it, is to preserve silence with respect to them, whenever they are mentioned in his presence. But how often has he not been heard to restrain the violent and less reserved expressions of those about him? "You "are not acquainted with men," he has said to us; "they are difficult to comprehend, if "one wishes to be strictly just. Can they under- "stand or explain even their own characters? "Almost all those who abandoned me, would, had "I continued to be prosperous, never, perhaps, "have dreamed of their own defection. There are "vices and virtues which depend on circum- "stances. Our last trials were beyond all human "strength! Besides I was forsaken rather than "betrayed; there was more of weakness than of "perfidy around me. It was the *denial of St.* "*Peter:* tears and repentance are probably at "hand. And where will you find, in the page "of history, any one possessing a greater number "of friends and partizans? Who was ever more "popular and more beloved? Who was ever "more ardently and deeply regretted? Here from "this very rock, on viewing the present disorders "in France, who would not be tempted to say "that I still reign there? The Kings and Princes, "my allies, have remained faithful to me to the "last, they were carried away by the people in "a mass; and those who were around me, found

" themselves overwhelmed and stunned by an " irresistible whirlwind . . . . No! human nature " might have appeared in a more odious light, and " I might have had greater cause of complaint!"

On the Officers of the Emperor's household, in 1814.—*Plan of address to the King.*

17th.—The Emperor asked me some questions to-day relative to the officers of his household. With the exception of two or three, at the most, who had drawn upon themselves the contempt of the very party to which they had gone over, nothing could be said against them: the majority had even evinced an ardent devotion to the Emperor's interests. The Emperor then made enquiries respecting some of these individuals in particular, calling them by their names; and I could not but express my approbation of them all. " What do you tell me?" said he, interrupting me hastily while I was speaking of one of them; " and yet I gave him so bad a reception at the " Tuileries on my return! Ah! I fear I have com- " mitted some involuntary acts of injustice! This " comes of being obliged to take for granted the " first story that is told, and of not having a " single moment to spare for verification! I fear " too that I have left many debts of gratitude in " arrear! How unfortunate it is to be incapable " of doing every thing one's self!"

I replied—" Sire, it is true that if blame be

" attached to the officers of your household, it " must be shared equally by all; a fact, however, " which must humble us strangely in the eyes of " foreign nations. As soon as the King appeared, " they hastened to him, not as to the sovereign " whom your abdication had left us, but as to one " who had never ceased to be our sovereign. Not " with the dignity of men proud of having always " fulfilled their duties, but with the equivocal em- " barrassment of unskilful courtiers. Each indivi- " dual sought only to justify himself: your Majes- " ty was from that instant disavowed and abjured; " the title of Emperor was dropped. The Minis- " ters, the Nobles, the intimate friends of your " Majesty, styled you simply '*Bonaparte*,' and " blushed not for themselves or their nation. " They excused themselves by saying that they " were compelled to serve; that they could not " do otherwise, through dread of the treatment " they might have experienced." The Emperor here recognised a true picture of our national character. He said we were still the same people as our ancestors the Gauls; that we still retained the same levity, the same inconstancy, and, above all, the same vanity. " When shall we," said he, " exchange this vanity for a little pride!"

" The officers of your Majesty's household," said I, " neglected a noble opportunity of acquir- " ing both honour and popularity. There were " above one hundred and fifty officers of the

"household; a great number of them belonged "to the first families, and were men of inde- "pendent fortune. It was for them to have "set an example, which, being followed by others, "might have given another impulse to the national "attitude, and afforded us a claim on public "esteem."*—"Yes," said the Emperor, "if all "the upper classes had acted in that way, affairs "might have turned out very differently. The old

* In this spirit, and in imitation of the example of other bodies, a plan of address to the King was drawn up in the name of the Officers of the Emperor's Household. It was in substance as follows:—

"Sire—The undersigned, who formed a part of the household of the Emperor Napoleon, solicit from your Majesty the favour of particular regard.

"Heirs to the duties of their fathers, they were, at a former period, faithful defenders of the throne; many of them followed your Majesty through long years of exile, into a foreign land, and sealed their devotedness by the forfeiture of their patrimony.

"It was precisely these well-known principles, and this acknowledged conduct, which constituted their claim, and called attention to them, when it was in contemplation to raise up a new throne and to surround it with adherents.

"The expectations of him who rallied us around him, were not, could not be, disappointed: we fulfilled our new duties with *honour and fidelity*. These sentiments, Sire, the surest pledges of every other, would be sufficient to secure our own esteem, if it were possible for us to remain in indolent retirement. But, what good and loyal Frenchman would desire a state of absolute repose? And yet, should any of us feel ourselves, through motives of delicacy, reduced to await, in silence, our appointment to new duties, might not our motive be misconstrued? On the other hand, might not the feelings of those also be misunder-

" editors of the public journals would not then " have indulged in their chimeras of the good old " times; we should not then have been annoyed " with their dissertations on the straight line and " the curve line; the King would have adhered " honestly to his charter; I should never have " dreamed of quitting the Island of Elba; the " head of the nation would have been recorded in " history with greater honour and dignity; and " we should all have been gainers."

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stood, who, yielding to the impulse of their hearts, eagerly hastened to receive the favours of your Majesty?

"Such, Sire, is the peculiar and delicate situation in which we are placed; but all our embarrassments will cease, if your Majesty deign to lend an ear to our Address. Your royal heart will feel the delicacy of the impulse by which we are guided at this moment, and will accept our sincere wishes to serve your Majesty and our country with our accustomed zeal and fidelity."

It was difficult to obtain signatures for so moderate an Address. Would it be believed, that this candid and authentic avowal of our past functions, and the use of the phrase 'Emperor Napoleon,' in particular, were held as objections to it? Every one found fault with it, according to his humour. Such were the sentiments of the day. Only seventeen signatures could be collected. Eighteen or twenty persons promised to add their names when the list should amount to twenty-five; but nobody would assist in completing that number. Two of those who had already signed it, thinking they had put their hand to a document which they did not well understand, their sole intention having been to solicit the confirmation of their appointments, even went so far as to erase their signatures. The original copy of this document must be either at Paris or Versailles, in the hands of one of the persons who signed it.

The Emperor's idea of reserving Corsica.—His opinion of Robespierre.—His ideas respecting public opinion. —Expiatory intention of the Emperor with regard to the victims of the Revolution.

18th.—After the accustomed occupation of the day, I accompanied the Emperor to the garden about four o'clock. He had just completed his dictation on the subject of Corsica. Having concluded every thing he had to say relative to that island, and to Paoli, he adverted to the interest which he himself excited there, while yet so young, at the time of his separation from Paoli. He added, that latterly he might to a certainty have united in his favour the wishes, the sentiments, and the efforts of the whole population of Corsica; and that, had he retired to that island on quitting Paris, he would have been beyond the reach of any foreign power whatever. He had an idea of doing so when he abdicated in favour of his son. He was on the point of reserving to himself the possession of Corsica during his life. No obstacle at sea would have obstructed his passage thither. But he abandoned that design for the sake of rendering his abdication the more sincere and the more advantageous to France. His residence in the centre of the Mediterranean, in the bosom of Europe, so near France and Italy, might have furnished a lasting pretext to the Allies. He even preferred America to England, from the same

motive and the same idea. It is true that in the sincerity of his own measures, he neither did, nor could foresee, his unjust and violent banishment to Saint-Helena.

The Emperor, next proceeding to take a review of different points of the Revolution, dwelt particularly on Robespierre, whom he did not know, but whom he believed to be destitute of talent, energy, or system. He considered him, notwithstanding, as the real scape-goat of the Revolution, sacrificed as soon as he endeavoured to arrest it in its course: the common fate, he observed, of all who, before himself, (Napoleon) had ventured to take that step. The Terrorists and their doctrine survived Robespierre; and if their excesses were not continued, it was because they were obliged to bow to public opinion. They threw all the blame on Robespierre; but the latter declared shortly before his death, that he was a stranger to the recent executions, and that he had not appeared in the Committees for six weeks previously. Napoleon confessed that while he was with the army of Nice, he had seen some long letters addressed by Robespierre to his brother, condemning the horrors of the Commissioners of the Convention, who, as he expressed it, were ruining the Revolution by their tyranny and atrocities. "Cambacérès, who," observed the Emperor, "must be a good authority on "subjects relating to that period, answered an

" enquiry which I one day addressed to him respec-
" ting the condemnation of Robespierre, in these
" remarkable words: ' Sire, that was a sentence
" without a trial;' adding that Robespierre had
" more foresight and conception than was generally
" imagined. That after he should have succeeded
" in subduing the unbridled factions which he had
" to oppose, his intention was to restore a system
" of order and moderation. ' Some time previous
" to his fall,' added Cambacérès, ' he delivered
" a most admirable speech on this subject; it was
" not thought proper to insert it in the Moniteur,
" and all trace of it is now lost.'"

This is not the first instance I have heard of omissions and want of accuracy in the Moniteur. In the reports inserted in that journal relative to the proceedings of the Assembly, there must be a period remarkable for incorrectness; as the minutes of those proceedings were for a time arbitrarily drawn up by one of the Committees.

Those who are induced to believe that Robespierre was at once wearied, satiated, and alarmed by the Revolution, and had resolved on checking it, affirm that he would not take any decided step until after he had read his famous speech. He considered it so fine, that he had no doubt of its effect on the Assembly. If this be true, his mistake or his vanity cost him dear. Those who think differently, assert that Danton and Camille-des-Moulins had precisely the same views; and

yet that Robespierre sacrificed them. To these it is replied, that Robespierre sacrificed them to preserve his popularity, because he judged that the decisive moment had not yet arrived; or because he did not wish to resign to them the glory of the enterprise.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the nearer we approach to the instruments and the agents in that catastrophe, the greater obscurity and mystery we find; and this uncertainty will but increase with time. Thus the page of history will, on this point as on many others, become the record, not so much of the events which really occurred, as of the statements which are given of them.

In the course of our conversation, relative to Robespierre, the Emperor said, that he had been very well acquainted with his brother, the younger Robespierre, the representative to the Army of Italy. He said nothing against this young man, whom he had inspired with great confidence and considerable enthusiasm for his person. Previously to the 9th of Thermidor, young Robespierre being recalled by his brother, who was then secretly laying his plans, insisted on Napoleon's accompanying him to Paris. The latter experienced the greatest difficulty in ridding himself of the importunity, and, at length, only escaped it by requesting the interference of the General-in-Chief Dumerbion, whose entire confidence he possessed,

and who represented that it was absolutely necessary he should remain where he was. "Had I "followed young Robespierre," said the Emperor, "how different might have been my career! On "what trivial circumstances does human fate "depend!—Some office would doubtless have "been assigned to me; and I might at that mo- "ment have been destined to attempt a sort of "Vendemiaire. But I was then very young; my "ideas were not yet fixed. It is probable, in- "deed, that I should not have undertaken any "task that might have been allotted to me; but "supposing the contrary case, and even admitting "that I had been successful, what results could "I have hoped for? In Vendemiaire the revolu- "tionary fever was totally subdued; in Thermi- "dor it was still raging in its utmost fury and at "its greatest height."

"Public opinion," said the Emperor, on another occasion, when conversing on another subject, "is an invisible and mysterious power which "it is impossible to resist: nothing is more un- "steady, more vague, or more powerful; and "capricious as it may be, it is, nevertheless, just "and reasonable more frequently than is sup- "posed. On becoming Provisional Consul, the "first act of my administration was the banish- "ment of fifty anarchists. Public opinion, which "had at first been furiously hostile to them, sud- "denly turned in their favour, and I was forced

" to retract. But some time afterwards, these same " anarchists, having shewn a disposition to en- " gage in plots, were again assailed by that very " public opinion, which had now returned to sup- " port me. Thus, through the errors that were " committed at the time of the restoration, popu- " larity was secured to the regicides, who but a " moment before had been proscribed by the " great mass of the nation.

" It belonged to me," continued the Emperor, " to shed a lustre over the memory of Louis XVI. " in France, and to purify the nation of the crimes " with which he had been sullied by frantic acts " and unfortunate fatalities. The Bourbons, being " of the royal family, and coming from abroad, " merely avenged their own private cause, and " augmented the national opprobrium. I, on the " contrary, being one of the people, should have " raised the character of the nation, by banish- " ing from society, in her name, those whose " crimes had disgraced her. This was my inten- " tion, but I proceeded prudently in the fulfil- " ment of it. The three expiatory altars at St. " Denis were but a prelude to my design. The " Temple of Glory, on the site of the *Magdelaine*, " was to have been devoted to this object with " still greater solemnity. There, near the tomb " and over the very bones of the political victims " of our revolution, human monuments and reli- " gious ceremonies would have consecrated their

" memory in the name of the French people. " This is a secret that was not known to above " ten individuals: though it would have been " necessary to communicate a hint of the design " to those who might have been intrusted " with the arrangement of the edifice. I should " not have executed my scheme in less than ten " years; but what precautions had I not adopted; " how carefully had I smoothed every difficulty, " and removed every obstruction! All would " have applauded my design, and no one would " have suffered from it. So much depends on " circumstances and forms," added he, " that in " my reign, Carnot would not have dared to write " a memorial, boasting of the death of the King, " though he did so under the Bourbons. I should " have leagued with public opinion in punishing " him; while public opinion sided with him in ren- " dering him unassailable."

Cascade at Briars.

19th.—My son and I rose very early. Our task had been finished on the preceding day; and as the Emperor could not want me for some time, we availed ourselves of the fineness of the morning to explore the neighbourhood of our abode.

Passing through the valley of James-Town, on the right of our little level height at Briars, was a deep ravine, the sides of which were intersected by numerous perpendicular clefts. We descended

into the ravine, not without difficulty, and found ourselves at the edge of a little limpid streamlet, beside which grew abundance of cresses. We amused ourselves by gathering them as we passed along; and after a few windings we soon reached the extremity of the valley and the streamlet, which are closed transversely by a huge pointed mass of rock, from the summit of which issues a pretty cascade, produced from the waters of the surrounding heights. This waterfall descending into the valley forms the streamlet, along which we had just passed, and which sometimes rolls in a torrent to the sea. The water of the cascade was at this moment dispersed above our heads in small rain or light vapour; but in stormy weather it rushes forth in a torrent, and furiously dashes through the ravine till it reaches the sea. To us the scene presented a gloomy, solitary, and melancholy aspect; and it was altogether so interesting that we quitted it with regret.

To-day was Sunday, and we all dined with the Emperor: he good-humouredly observed that we formed a state party. After dinner the circle of our amusements was not very extensive: he asked us whether we would have a comedy, an opera, or a tragedy. We decided in favour of a comedy, and he himself read a portion of Moliere's *Avare*, which was continued by other individuals of the party. The Emperor had a cold, and was slightly feverish. He withdrew early

from his walk in the garden, and desired me to see him again that evening if he should not have gone to bed. My son and I accompanied the rest of the gentlemen to the town; and on our return the Emperor had retired to rest.

First and only Excursion during our abode at Briars.—The Admiral's Ball.

20th.—The Emperor, after dictating as usual with one of the gentlemen, called me about five o'clock. He was alone; the rest of the gentlemen and my son having gone to the town, where the Admiral was that evening to give a ball. The Emperor and I walked along the road leading to the town, until we came within sight of the sea and the shipping. On the left, in the depth of the valley, was a pretty little house. The Emperor stood for a considerable time with his glass at his eye, examining the garden, which appeared to be very well cultivated, and in which a group of beautiful children were at play, attended by their mother. We were informed that this house belonged to Major Hudson, a resident of the Island; the same gentleman who had lent me the *Annual Register*. The house was situated at the bottom of the ravine which commences in the vicinity of Briars, and near the curious cascade which I have already noticed. The Emperor took a fancy to go down to the house, though it was now nearly six o'clock. The road was extremely steep: we found it longer and more difficult of descent than we had

expected; and we reached the bottom of the ravine quite out of breath. We took a survey of the little domain, which had evidently been laid out as the residence of a permanent occupant, and not as the mere temporary abode of a traveller passing to a foreign land; and after receiving the attentions of the master of the house, and paying a few compliments to the mistress, the Emperor took his leave.

But the evening was already far advanced, and we were very much fatigued; we therefore accepted the horses that were offered us, and speedily returned to our hut and our dinner. This little excursion, and the exercise of riding on horseback which had been so long relinquished, seemed to do the Emperor good.

He desired that I would go to the Admiral's ball, in spite of my reluctance to leave him. At half-past eight o'clock he observed that the night was dark, the road bad, and that it was time I had set out. He insisted on my leaving him, and he entered his room, where I saw him undress and retire to bed. He again desired me to go, and I unwillingly obeyed. I left him alone; and thus, for the first time, violated a custom which had become most dear to me.

I proceeded on foot to the town. The Admiral had given great *eclat* to his ball. It had been talked of for a considerable time before. He wished it to be understood that the entertainment

was given solely on our account, and we had been formally invited. Was it most advisable to accept or to decline the invitation? Something might be said on both sides. Political misfortunes did not require that we should assume the appearance of domestic sorrow; it might be proper, and even useful, to mingle cheerfully in company with our jailors. We might, therefore, adopt either resolution indifferently. We determined to go. But what sort of conduct were we to observe? Should we assume pride, or employ address? The first might be attended with inconvenience; in our situation every wounded pretension became an insult. In the second there could be no impropriety: to receive marks of politeness as though we were accustomed to them, and as though they were our due, and to overlook any little want of respect, was certainly the wisest course. I arrived at the ball very late, and left it very early. I was much pleased with the entertainment in every respect.

My conduct while the Emperor was at Elba.

21st—22d. The Emperor, who had often questioned me on the line of conduct pursued by many of his ministers, members of his council, and officers of his household, during his residence at the island of Elba, at length called me to account in my turn, saying:—"But you yourself, Las

" Cases, what did you do after the arrival of the " King? What happened to you all that time? " Come, give me an account of your conduct: " you know this is my way; and it is the only " plan by which we can properly classify what " we say, or what we wish to learn. Besides, it " will furnish you with another article for your " Journal. And, don't you see?" added he, jokingly, " your biographers will only have the " trouble of extracting; the thing will be all ready " written to their hands."

" Sire," I replied, " you shall have a literal state- " ment of every thing; though I have but little to " say. I commanded, on the 31st of March, the " 10th legion of the National Guard of Paris, that " which was appointed as the guard of the Legis- " lative Body. We lost, during the day, a con- " siderable number of men. At night I heard of " the capitulation; I wrote to the officer next in " rank to myself, and transferred to him the com- " mand of my legion, informing him, that though " in my quality of member of the Council of " State I had previously received orders to pro- " ceed elsewhere, yet I had not wished to " abandon my legion at the moment of danger; " but that, the event which had just occurred " having changed the aspect of affairs, I must " now proceed forthwith to fulfil new duties.

" At day-break I set out on the road to Fon- " tainebleau, and found myself in the midst of the

" wrecks of Marmont's and Mortier's detachments. " I was on foot, but I doubted not I should " be able to purchase a horse. I soon, however, " discovered that soldiers in retreat are neither " just nor civil. At that disastrous moment, my " uniform of a National Guard was insulted, and " I was myself ill-treated.

" After an hour's walk, overpowered by the " fatigue of the journey, joined to the want of " rest which I had experienced for two or three " nights previously; seeing around me no face " that I knew, and having no hope of procu- " ring a horse, I determined, with a sorrowful " heart, to return to the capital.

" The National Guard was ordered out to assist " in the triumphant entry of the enemy: there was " even a probability of its being selected as a " guard of honour to the Sovereigns who had con- " quered us. I determined to be absent from my " home. I had conveyed my wife and children " safely out of Paris a week or two before, and " for a few days had recourse to the hospitality " of a friend. I never went out of doors but in a " shabby great coat, visiting the coffee-houses and " public places, and joining the different groups " which were formed in the streets. My object " was to make observations on persons and things, " and above all, to learn the real feeling of the " people. How many extraordinary occur- " rences did I not witness in the course of my " rambles!

" I saw, in front of the residence of the Empe-
" ror of Russia, men distinguished by their rank,
" and calling themselves Frenchmen, exerting
" their utmost endeavours to induce the rabble
" to call out '*Long live Alexander, our deliverer!*'

" I saw, Sire, your monument on the Place
" Vendôme resist the efforts of a few wretches,
" belonging to the lowest dregs of the people, who
" had been hired by persons of note.

" Finally, in one of the corners of the Place
" Vendôme, before the hotel of the Commandant
" of the place, I saw one of the officers of your
" household trying to prevail on young conscripts
" to enter another service than yours; but he
" received from them a lesson that might have
" made him blush for his own conduct.

" Doubtless, those to whom I here allude will
" exclaim that I mingled with the *rabble;* and yet
" it may be with justice affirmed that the acts of
" baseness which then disgraced France did not
" originate with the rabble. These acts were far
" from obtaining the countenance of the lower
" classes of the people; on the contrary, they
" were decidedly censured by the uprightness,
" generosity, and nobleness of sentiment, mani-
" fested in the public streets. What reproaches
" might I not convey, were I to repeat all that I
" heard on this subject!

" Your Majesty abdicated. I had refused my
" signature to the act of adherence of the Coun-

" cil of State; but I thought I might make amends " for this by an additional act of adherence. The " Moniteur was every day filled with articles of " this kind; yet mine was not deemed worthy the " honour of insertion.

" At length the King arrived: he was hence- " forth our Sovereign. He appointed a day for " the reception of those individuals who had been " presented to Louis XVI. I proceeded to the " Tuileries to avail myself of this prerogative.— " What were my reflections on entering those " apartments which had so lately been filled with " your glory and power! And yet I presented " myself to the King sincerely and in good faith; " my foresight never led me even to think of your " return.

" Deputations to the King were multiplied be- " yond number: a meeting of the officers of the " naval establishment was proposed. To the per- " son who communicated this fact to me, I replied, " that nothing could be more gratifying to my " heart than to join my old comrades, none of " whom could entertain sentiments purer than I " did; but that the offices I had filled placed me " in a peculiar and delicate situation, and that mo- " tives of prudence must deter me from appearing " where the zeal of a president might lead him " to employ expressions which I neither could nor " would sanction by my opinion or presence.

" Subsequently, however, in spite of my morti-

" fication and disgust, I determined, at the soli-
" citation of some friends, to think of something for
" myself. The Council of State was recomposed ;
" several members of the last Council assured me,
" in spite of my recent conjectures on that point,
" that nothing was easier than to retain my office ;
" that they had succeeded merely by an applica-
" tion to the Chancellor of France. I had not
" courage to venture a moment's encroachment on
" his Lordship's time ; and therefore contented
" myself with writing to acquaint him that I had
" been Master of requests to the last Council of
" State ; and that if that circumstance were not
" sufficient to exclude me from becoming a mem-
" ber of the new assembly, I begged him to re-
" commend me to the King as a Councillor of
" State. I observed that I would not advance as
" claims to favour, my eleven years' emigration, or
" the loss of my patrimony in the King's cause.
" In these respects I conceived I had only done
" my duty ; which I had at all times, to the
" best of my knowledge, fulfilled faithfully and
" to the utmost. This language, as may well be
" supposed, deprived me even of the honour
" of a reply.

" Meanwhile the new situation of Paris, the
" sight of the foreign troops, the acclamations of
" every kind, were more than I could endure ; and
" I adopted the determination of going for a short
" time to London, where I should meet with old

" friends, who might afford me all the consolation
" of which I was susceptible. Then, again, I re-
" collected that I might find in London the same
" tumult and the same exultation that had driven
" me from Paris: this proved to be the fact.
" London was the scene of festivity and rejoicing,
" to celebrate the triumphs of the English and our
" humiliation.

" During my stay in London, the marine esta-
" blishment was re-modelled at Paris, and the
" Chevalier de Grimaldi, one of my old comrades,
" whom I had not seen or heard of for a length of
" time, was appointed a member of the Com-
" mittee. He called on my wife, and expressed
" his surprise that I had not put in my claims; ob-
" serving that I was entitled by law to return to the
" corps, or to retire on a certain pension. He ad-
" vised my wife to bring me to a decision on the
" subject, and to rely on his friendship; adding,
" that there was no time to be lost. I attached
" higher value to this mark of attention, than to
" the favour which it was intended to procure me.
" However, I wrote to the Committee, requesting
" that, as I was desirous of wearing a uniform to
" which I had become attached, I might be al-
" lowed to enjoy the honorary title of *Capitaine*
" *de Vaisseau;* while at the same time I renounced
" the pension, to which I did not conceive myself
" entitled.

" I returned to Paris. The diversity of opi-

" nions and the irritation of the public mind were " extreme. I had for a long time lived in the " greatest retirement. I now confined myself " entirely to the domestic circle of my wife and " children. Never at any former period of my " life did I prove myself a better husband or a " better father; and never, perhaps, was I more " physically happy.

" As I was one day reading, in the *Journal des* " *Debats*, an account of a work of M. Beauchamp, " I found mentioned the names of several gen- " tlemen who were stated to have assembled on " the Place Louis XV. on the 31st March, to ex- " cite sentiments in favour of royalty; and my " name was among the number. It was in good " company, no doubt; but at the same time the " statement was untrue; and I should have been " considerably lowered in the estimation of many " if it had been believed. I wrote to request a " correction of the error, which was calculated " to render me the subject of congratulations to " which I was in no way entitled.

" I observed, that it was out of my power to " have acted in the way described, whatever " might have been my inclination. As the com- " mander of a legion of the National Guard, I " had contracted obligations from which no con- " sideration on earth could free me; and I " sent my letter to the Deputy Chabaud-Latour, " one of the proprietors of the *Journal des Debats*,

"a man for whom I entertained a great esteem. "He declined publishing my letter, purely from "good intentions towards me. I then addressed "it to the editor; but he refused to insert it on "account of difference of opinion.

"Meanwhile, the state of the public mind in- "dicated an inevitable and speedy catastrophe. "Every thing foreboded that the Bourbons would "share the fate of the Stuarts. My wife and I used "every evening to amuse ourselves in reading "Hume's History of England. We began at "Charles I. and your Majesty arrived before we "had got to James II." (Here the Emperor could not repress his laughter.)

"Your Majesty's advancement and arrival," continued I, "were to us a subject of the great- "est astonishment and anxiety. I was far from "foreseeing the honourable voluntary exile which "it would gain for me in the end; for I was then "unknown to your Majesty; and circumstances "arising out of that event alone brought me to "your presence. Had I filled the most trivial "post under the King; had I even been a fre- "quent attendant at the Tuileries, which would "have been very natural and consistent with pro- "priety, I should not have appeared for a length "of time in your Majesty's presence. Not, indeed, "that I should have had any thing to reproach my- "self with, or that my attachment to you would "have been the less sincere; but because I

" should not have wished to pass for a piece of
" court furniture, or to seem always ready to offer
" incense at the shrine of power. I should have
" awaited an appointment, instead of pressing
" forward to solicit one. But as it was, I felt
" myself so much at liberty, every thing about
" me was in such perfect harmony, that I seemed
" to form a part of the great event. I, therefore,
" eagerly hastened to meet the first glance of your
" Majesty; I felt as though I had claims on your
" kindness and favour. On your return from
" Waterloo, the same sentiments brought me im-
" mediately and spontaneously near your person,
" which I have never since quitted. If I was
" then attracted by your public glory, I am now
" attached by your private virtues; and if it be
" true, that the gratification of my feelings then
" cost me some sacrifice, I now find myself repaid
" a hundred-fold, by the happiness I enjoy in
" being able to tell you so.

" It would, however, be difficult to describe
" the extreme disgust I felt at every thing during
" the ten months of your absence. I felt an utter
" contempt for mankind and worldly vanities.
" Every illusion was destroyed, all interest had
" vanished. Every thing appeared to be at an
" end, or to be undeserving of the smallest value.
" During my emigration, I had received the cross
" of St. Louis; an ordinance decreed that it was
" to be legitimatized by a new brevet. I had not

" spirit to put in my claim. Another ordinance " directed that the titles bestowed by your Ma- " jesty should be sent in to be confirmed; but I " felt indifferent with regard to compromising " those which I had obtained during the Empire. " In fine, I received a letter from the Marine de- " partment, informing me that my captain's com- " mission had just been forwarded thither, and " there it still remains.

" Your Majesty's absence was to me a widow- " hood, the affliction and grief of which I concealed " from no one. But on your return I was repaid " for all by the testimony borne by those who " surrounded you, and to whom I had previously " been scarcely known. At your Majesty's first " levee, the individual who was *ad interim* at the " head of the department of foreign affairs, coming " from the presence, took me aside to a window, " and told me to go home and prepare, as I should " probably have to set out on a journey. He had " just, he said, proposed me to your Majesty, " adding that he had represented me as a mad- " man, but mad for love of you. I wished to " know whither I was to be sent; but that, he " said, he neither would nor could tell me. I " never heard any thing more of the matter.

" M. Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angeli placed " me on the list of the Imperial Commissioners " whom your Majesty sent to the departments. I " assured him that I was ready to do any thing;

" but I observed that I was a *noble* and an *emi-*
" *grant*, and that these two words pronounced by
" the first comer would be sufficient to annul me,
" in case of necessity, at any time or in any place.
" He acknowledged the justice of my observation,
" and relinquished his intention.

" A Senator next solicited that your Majesty
" would appoint me to the prefecture of Metz, his
" native town. He requested me to make this sa-
" crifice for only three months, in order, as he said,
" to conciliate the popular mind, and set things to
" rights. At length Decrés and the Duke of
" Bassano proposed me as a Counsellor of State;
" and, the third day after your arrival, your Ma-
" jesty signed my appointment."

23d.—The Emperor was still indisposed: he confined himself to his room, and would see nobody. He sent for me at 9 o'clock in the evening. I found him very low-spirited and melancholy. He scarcely spoke to me, and I did not dare to say any thing to him. If I regarded his illness as merely physical, it grieved me sincerely:—if he laboured under mental affliction, how mueh more was I grieved that I could not employ all the resources of consolation with which the heart naturally overflows for those whom we truly love. The Emperor dismissed me in about half an hour.

24th.—The Emperor continued indisposed, and still declined seeing any body. He sent for me to dine with him at a late hour. Dinner was

served on a little table beside the sofa on which he was lying. He ate heartily. He said that he stood in need of some sudden revulsion of the constitution, which he should soon obtain; so well did he understand his own temperament. After dinner he took up the Memoirs of Marshal de Villars, which amused him. He read aloud many passages, which revived former recollections, and gave rise to many anecdotes.

The Emperor's temperament.—Riding.—Notions of Medicine.

25th.—The Emperor still continued unwell: he had passed a bad night. At his desire I dined with him beside the sofa, which he was unable to leave. He was, however, evidently much better. He had a heap of books scattered around him on the sofa. The rapidity of his imagination, the fatigue of dwelling always on the same subject, or of reading what he already knew, caused him to take up and throw down the books one after the other. At length he fixed on Racine's Iphigenia, and amused himself by pointing out the beauties, and discussing the few faults, to be found in that work. He dismissed me at an early hour.

Contrary to the general opinion, in which I myself once participated, the Emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed. With a very expanded chest, he is constantly labouring under

the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a severe effect on him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as is generally supposed: all his strength is in his mind. His prodigious exertions abroad, and his incessant labours at home, are known to every one. No sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue. The most remarkable instance of the Emperor's activity and exertion was his ride without stirrups from Valladolid to Burgos, (a distance of thirty-five Spanish leagues in five hours and a half; that is to say, upwards of seven leagues an hour.)* The Emperor had set out accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the Guerillas; but at every yard he left some of his company behind him, and he arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues, is also frequently talked of. The Emperor rode to breakfast at the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately

* This may appear incredible. Indeed I myself feel doubts now when I read over the statement. But I know, that when the subject was spoken of one day at dinner at Longwood, it underwent much discussion, and I noted down on paper what was then admitted to be the correct account. Besides, many individuals who accompanied the Emperor are still living: and the fact may be ascertained.

after. Napoleon often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from Saint-Petersburgh in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainebleau at the moment when the Emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting-party. He of course accepted the invitation; but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after considerable search had been made for him.

I have known the Emperor to be engaged in business in the Council of State for eight or nine hours successively, and afterwards rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him at Saint-Helena peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing in the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsic, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the Council of State, he said :— "It has been reported in Paris, that this misfor- "tune turned my hair grey; but you see it is not "so, (pointing to his head;) and I hope I shall be "able to support many other reverses." But these prodigious exertions are made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible than when his mind is in full activity.

The Emperor eats very irregularly, but generally very little. He often says, that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four-and-twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But if he eats little, he drinks still less. A single glass of Madeira or Champaign is sufficient to restore his strength, and to produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little and very irregularly, generally rising at day-break to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again.

The Emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He had adopted a peculiar mode of treatment for himself. Whenever he found himself unwell, his plan was to run into an extreme, the opposite of what happened to be his habit at the time. This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. If, for instance, he had been inactive for a length of time, he would suddenly ride about sixty miles, or hunt for a whole day. If, on the contrary, he had been harassed by great fatigues, he would resign himself to a state of absolute rest for twenty-four hours. These unexpected shocks infallibly brought about an internal crisis, and instantly produced the desired effect: this remedy, he observed, never failed.

The Emperor's lymphatic system is deranged, and his blood circulates with difficulty. Nature,

he said, had endowed him with two important advantages: the one was, the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour, and in any place; another was, that he was incapable of committing any injurious excess either in eating or drinking. "If," said he, "I go the least "beyond my mark, my stomach instantly re-"volts." He is subject to nausea from very slight causes; a mere tickling cough is sufficient to produce that effect on him.

Our mode of living at Briars.—My first visit to Longwood. —Infernal machine; its history.

26th—28th. On the 26th, the Emperor dressed very early: he found himself quite recovered. He wished to walk out, as the weather was very fine; and, besides, his room had not been put in order for three days. We went into the garden, and he chose to breakfast under the arbour. He was in good spirits, and his conversation turned upon many different subjects and persons.

The Emperor's health being now perfectly restored, he resumed his usual occupation, which, indeed, was his only source of amusement. Reading, dictating, and walking in the garden, filled up all his time during the day. He still occasionally resorted to his favourite path, though the turn of the season, and the change of the moon, had nearly put a stop to our evening walks. The numerous visitors who came to Mr. Balcombe's house, at-

tracted by the hope of meeting the Emperor, annoyed him very much, and, indeed, compelled him to withdraw himself altogether. We therefore remained shut up in our little dwelling. We at first understood that we should remain at Briars only a few days; but six weeks had passed away, and we had yet heard nothing respecting our removal. All this time the Emperor had been as much confined as he had been on board of the vessel. He had taken only one excursion, which was when he visited Major Hudson; and we afterwards learned that this circumstance had occasioned alarm. It had been whispered about at the Admiral's ball, and had reached the ears of our high authorities, who were thrown into great consternation by the event.

The workmen continued their labours at Longwood, which was to be our new residence. The troops who had come with us from England were encamped in the neighbourhood. The Colonel gave a ball, to which we were invited. The Emperor wished me to go, and that I should, at the same time, take the opportunity of inspecting our future abode. I went with Madame Bertrand, in a carriage drawn by six oxen. In this Merovingian equipage we proceeded to Longwood. This was the first opportunity I had had of seeing any part of the island, except the neighbourhood of Briars. The whole road along which we passed presented continued evidences of a great

natural convulsion. We saw nothing but huge masses of rock, totally destitute of vegetation. If, at every change of the horizon, we perceived a trace of verdure or a few clusters of trees; yet on a nearer approach, all vanished like the creations of a poet's fancy; we found only a few marine plants and wild shrubs; or what was still worse, some wretched gum-trees. These were the only ornaments of Longwood. I returned on horseback about six o'clock. The Emperor put many questions to me concerning our new residence. Finding that I did not speak of it very enthusiastically, he asked at once whether he should gain or lose by the change. I told what I thought in one sentence. "Sire," said I, "we are here in "a cage; there we shall be in a fold."

28th.—The Emperor changed his military uniform, which he had put on to go on board the Bellerophon, for a fancy dress-coat. In the course of conversation this day, the Emperor adverted to the numerous conspiracies which had been formed against him. The infernal machine was mentioned in its turn. This diabolical invention, which gave rise to so many conjectures, and led to the death of so many victims, was the work of the Royalists, who obtained the first idea of it from the Jacobins.

The Emperor stated, that a hundred furious Jacobins, the real authors of the scenes of September, the 10th of August, &c. had resolved to

get rid of the First Consul, for which purpose they invented a 15 or 16-pound howitzer, which, on being thrown into the carriage, would explode by its own concussion, and hurl destruction on every side. To make sure of their object, they proposed to lay caltrops along a part of the road, which, by suddenly impeding the horses, would of course render it impossible for the carriage to move on. The man who was employed to lay down the caltrops, entertaining some suspicions of the job which he had been set upon, as well as of the good intentions of his employers, communicated the business to the police. The conspirators were soon traced, and were apprehended near the Jardin des Plantes, in the act of trying the effect of the machine, which made a terrible explosion. The First Consul, whose policy it was not to divulge the numerous conspiracies of which he was the object, did not give publicity to this, but contented himself with imprisoning the criminals. He soon relaxed his orders for keeping them in close confinement, and they were allowed a certain degree of liberty. In the same prison in which these Jacobins were confined, some Royalists were also imprisoned for an attempt to assassinate the First Consul, by means of air-guns. These two parties formed a league together; and the Royalists transmitted to their friends out of prison the idea of the infernal machine, as being preferable to any other plan of destruction.

It is very remarkable, that on the evening of the catastrophe, the Emperor expressed an extreme repugnance to go out. Madame Bonaparte and some intimate friends absolutely forced him to go to an oratorio. They roused him from a sofa where he was fast asleep; one fetched him his sword, and another his hat. As he drove along in the carriage, he fell asleep again, and awoke suddenly, saying that he had dreamed he was drowning in the Tagliamento. To explain what he alluded to, it is necessary to mention that some years previously, when he was General of the army of Italy, he passed the Tagliamento in his carriage during the night, contrary to the advice of every one about him. In the ardour of youth, and heedless of every obstacle, he crossed the river surrounded by a hundred men armed with poles and torches. His carriage was, however, soon set afloat; Napoleon ran the most imminent danger, and for some time gave himself up for lost. At the moment when he now awoke, on his way to the oratorio, he was in the midst of a conflagration, the carriage was lifted up, and the passage of the Tagliamento came fresh upon his mind. The illusion, however, was but momentary; a dreadful explosion immediately ensued. "We are blown up!" exclaimed the First Consul to Lannes and Bessieres, who were in the carriage with him. They proposed immediately to make arrests; but he desired them not to be too hasty.

The First Consul arrived safe, and appeared at the opera as though nothing had happened. He was preserved by the desperate driving of his coachman. The machine injured only one or two individuals who closed the escort.

The most trivial circumstances often lead to the most important results. The coachman was intoxicated; no doubt this proved the means of saving the life of the First Consul. The man's intoxication was so great, that it was not until next morning he could be made to comprehend what had happened. He had taken the explosion for the firing of a salute. Immediately after this event, measures were adopted against the Jacobins, who had been convicted of meditating the crime; and a considerable number were banished. They, however, were not the real criminals, whose discovery was brought about by another very singular chance.

Three or four hundred drivers of *fiacres* subscribed a louis or twelve francs each to give a dinner to the First Consul's coachman, who had become the hero of the day and the boast of his profession. During the feast, one of the guests drinking to the health of the First Consul's coachman, observed that he knew who had played him the trick, alluding to the explosion of the machine. He was eagerly questioned, and it appeared that on the very night, or the night preceding the explosion, he had drawn up his *fiacre* beside a gate,

whence had issued the little cart that had done all the mischief. The police proceeded to the place, and it was found to be a coach-yard, where all kinds of vehicles were lent on hire. The keepers of the yard did not deny the fact; they pointed out the stall in which the cart stood; it still presented traces of gunpowder. The proprietors declared that they were given to understand the cart had been hired by some Bretons who were concerned in smuggling. The man who had sold the horse, together with every individual who had participated in the affair, were easily traced out; and it was proved that the plot had been formed by the Chouan Royalists. Some active and intelligent men were despatched to their head-quarters in Morbihan. They took no pains to conceal their share in the transaction, and only regretted that it had not succeeded. Some of them were apprehended and brought to punishment. It is said that the chief conspirator afterwards turned Trappist, and sought to expiate his crime by religious austerities.

Conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru, &c.—The Duke d'Enghien.—The Slave Toby.—Characteristic reflections of Napoleon.

29th—30th. I find in this part of my manuscript some important particulars respecting the conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and the trial of the Duke d'Enghien; but, as these

subjects recur repeatedly in the course of my Journal, I transfer to another part what occurred here, in order to bring all my information on the above points at once under the eye of the reader.

Mr. Balcombe's little garden, in which we so often walked, was superintended by an old negro. The first time we saw him, the Emperor, according to his usual custom, desired me to put some questions to him respecting his history; and his answers strongly excited our interest. He was a Malay Indian, and had been forced from his home by the crew of an English vessel, and sold at Saint-Helena, where he had continued ever since in slavery. His story bore every mark of truth. His countenance had a frank and benevolent expression; his eyes were animated and sparkling. In short, his appearance was by no means abject; but, on the contrary, truly prepossessing.

The history of the poor fellow's misfortunes filled us with indignation; and a few days after, the Emperor expressed a wish to purchase him and send him back to his own country. He mentioned the subject to the Admiral. The latter, at first, defended his countrymen, and declared that old Toby (which was the name of the unfortunate slave) must be an impostor; for the thing was impossible. He, however, inquired into the matter, and, finding that the story was but too true, he participated in the indignation which we expressed, and promised to exert his best endea-

vours for the fulfilment of our design. When we left Briars for Longwood, poor Toby, sharing the common fate of all earthly things, was soon forgotten; I know not what became of him.

When we were in the garden, the Emperor generally stopped near Toby's hut, and made me question him respecting his country, the days of his youth, his family, his present situation, &c.: one would have supposed that he wished to study the feelings of the old slave. By the Emperor's desire, I invariably closed the conversation by giving him a Napoleon.

Toby was very much attached to us; our presence always seemed to fill him with joy. When we entered the garden, he immediately suspended his work, and, resting on his spade, gazed on us with an air of satisfaction. He understood not a word of the conversation that passed between the Emperor and myself; but he always seemed to anticipate, with a smile, the first words I translated to him. He called the Emperor the *Good Gentleman:* this was the only name he ever applied to him, and he knew him by no other.

I have mentioned the above particulars, because our meetings with Toby were always followed by novel, spirited, and characteristic reflections on the part of the Emperor. The versatility of his mind is well known. Whenever he adverted to the poor slave's misfortunes, he always took a new view of the subject. I shall

content myself with noting down the following remarks: —

"Poor Toby," said he one day, "has been "torn from his family, from his native land, and "sold to slavery: could any thing be more mi- "serable to himself, or more criminal in others! "If this crime be the act of the English captain "alone, he is doubtless one of the vilest of men; "but if it be that of the whole of the crew, it may "have been committed by men, perhaps, not so "base as might be imagined; for vice is always "individual, and scarcely ever collective. Jo- "seph's brethren could not bring themselves to "slay him; while Judas, a cool, hypocritical, "calculating villain, betrayed his master. A "philosopher has affirmed that men are born "wicked: it would be both difficult and idle to "attempt to discover whether the assertion be "true. This, at least, is certain, that the great "mass of society is not wicked; for if the ma- "jority were determined to be criminal and to "violate the laws, who would have the power to "restrain or prevent them? This is the triumph "of civilization; for this happy result springs "from its bosom, and arises out of its nature. "Sentiments are for the most part traditionary; "we feel them because they were felt by those "who preceded us: thus we must look to the "developement of human reason and faculties "for the only key to social order, the only secret

" of the legislator. Only those who wish to de-
" ceive the people and rule them for their own
" personal advantage would desire to keep them
" in ignorance; for the more they are enlighten-
" ed, the more will they feel convinced of the
" utility of laws, and of the necessity of de-
" fending them; and the more steady, happy,
" and prosperous will society become. If, how-
" ever, knowledge should ever be dangerous
" in the multitude, it can only be when the
" Government, in opposition to the interests
" of the people, drives them into an unnatural
" situation, or dooms the lower classes to perish
" for want. In such a case, knowledge would
" inspire them with spirit to defend themselves,
" or to become criminal."

" My Code alone, from its simplicity, has been
" more beneficial to France than the whole mass
" of laws which preceded it. My schools and
" my system of mutual instruction are prepar-
" ing generations yet unknown. Thus, during
" my reign, crimes were rapidly diminishing;
" while, on the contrary, with our neighbours in
" England, they have been increasing to a fright-
" ful degree. This alone is sufficient to enable
" any one to form a decisive judgment of the
" respective governments!*

" Look at the United States, where, without

* This fact is corroborated by authentic documents, which exhibit proofs more positive than might be expected. (See *Situation de l'Angleterre, par M. de Montvéran.*)

" any apparent force or effort, every thing goes
" on prosperously; every one is happy and con-
" tented: and this is because the public wishes
" and interests are in fact the ruling power. Place
" the same government at variance with the will
" and interests of its inhabitants, and you would
" soon see what disturbance, trouble, and confu-
" sion, and above all, what an increase of crimes
" would ensue.

" When I acquired the supreme direction of
" affairs, it was wished that I might become a

FRANCE.			ENGLAND.	
Inhabitants.	Condemned to death.	Years.	Inhabitants.	Condemned to death.
34,000,000	882	1801	16,000,000	3,400
42,000,000	392	1811	17,000,000	6,400

It is obvious from this statement, that in the year 1801, in France, twenty-six out of a million of inhabitants were condemned to death; and that in 1811, ten years after, the number of condemned had diminished two-thirds, leaving the proportion of only nine to a million.

In England, on the contrary, where, in 1801, the number of criminals condemned to death was 212 out of a million of inhabitants, the amount increased by more than one half; there being in 1811, 376 out of a million.

It is worthy of observation, that the condemnations in England, compared with those in France, were as 376 to 9, or as 42 to 1.

The report of the state of mendicity in France, compared with that of the parish poor in England, also presents a prodigious difference: the French list in 1812 exhibiting only 30,000 individuals out of 43 millions of inhabitants; while in England, in the same year, a fourth of the population, or 4,250,000 poor, were thrown upon the parishes.—(*Montvéran.*)

" Washington. Words cost nothing; and no
" doubt those who were so ready to express
" the wish, did so without any knowledge of
" times, places, persons, or things. Had I
" been in America, I would willingly have been a
" Washington, and I should have had little merit
" in so being; for I do not see how I could rea-
" sonably have acted otherwise. But had Wash-
" ington been in France, exposed to discord
" within, and invasion from without, I would have
" defied him to have been what he was in Ame-
" rica; at least, he would have been a fool to
" attempt it, and would only have prolonged the
" existence of evil. For my own part, I could
" only have been a *crowned Washington.* It was
" only in a congress of kings, in the midst of
" kings yielding or subdued, that I could become
" so. Then and there alone, I could successfully
" display Washington's moderation, disinterested-
" ness, and wisdom. I could not reasonably
" attain to this but by means of the *universal*
" *Dictatorship.* To this I aspired; can that be
" thought a crime? Can it be believed, that to
" resign this authority would have been beyond
" the power of human nature? Sylla, glutted
" with crimes, dared to abdicate, pursued by
" public execration! What motive could have
" checked me, who would have been followed
" only by blessings?——But it remained for me to
" conquer at Moscow!—How many will here-
" after regret my disasters and my fall!—But

"to require prematurely of me that sacrifice, "for which the time had not arrived, was a vul- "gar absurdity; and for me to have pro- "claimed or promised it, would have been taken "for hypocrisy and quackery: that was not my "way. —— I repeat, it remained for me to con- "quer at Moscow! ——"

On another occasion, pausing before Toby, he said:—"What, after all, is this poor human "machine? There is not one whose exterior form "is like another, or whose internal organisation "resembles the rest! And it is by disregarding "this truth that we are led to the commission of "so many errors! Had Toby been a Brutus, he "would have put himself to death; if an Æsop, "he would now, perhaps, have been the Gover- "nor's adviser; if an ardent and zealous Christian, "he would have borne his chains in the sight of "God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he "endures his misfortunes very quietly; he stoops "to his work, and spends his days in innocent "tranquillity." Then, after looking at him for a few moments in silence, he turned away and said: "Certainly there is a wide step from poor Toby "to a King Richard! —— And yet," continued he, as he walked along, "the crime is not the less "atrocious; for this man, after all, had his family, "his happiness, and his liberty; and it was a "horrible act of cruelty to bring him here to lan- "guish in the fetters of his slavery." Then, suddenly stopping short, he added:—"But I

" read in your eyes, that you think he is not the " only example of the sort at Saint-Helena!" And whether he felt offended at being placed on a parallel with Toby, whether he thought it necessary to raise my spirits, or whatever else might be his reason, he went on with dignity and animation: " My dear Las Cases, there is not the least resem- " blance here: if the outrage is of a higher class, " the victims also furnish very different resources. " We have not been exposed to corporeal suffer- " ings; or if that had been attempted, we " have souls to disappoint our tyrants! Our si- " tuation may even have its charms! The eyes " of the universe are fixed upon us! We are " martyrs in an immortal cause! Millions of " human beings are weeping for us: our coun- " try sighs, and glory mourns our fate! We " here struggle against the oppression of the " gods, and the prayers of nations are for us!"— After a pause of a few seconds, he continued:—" Besides, this is not the source of my " real sufferings! If I considered only myself, " perhaps I should have reason to rejoice! " Misfortunes are not without their heroism " and their glory! Adversity was wanting to " my career! Had I died on the throne, en- " veloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, " I should to many have remained a problem; " but now misfortune will enable all to judge " of me without disguise."

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET-STREET.

B'D FEB 2 1915